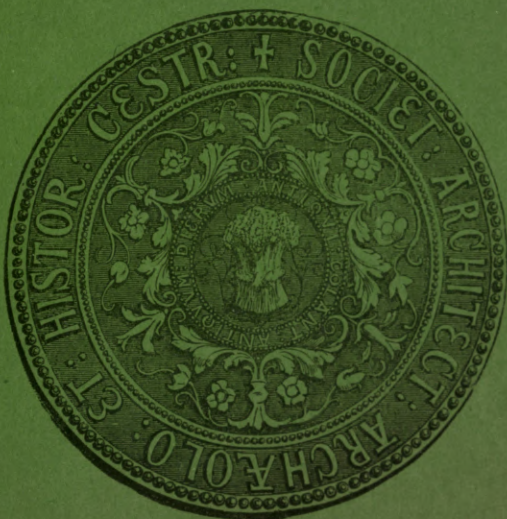


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Journal
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For the County and the City of Chester,
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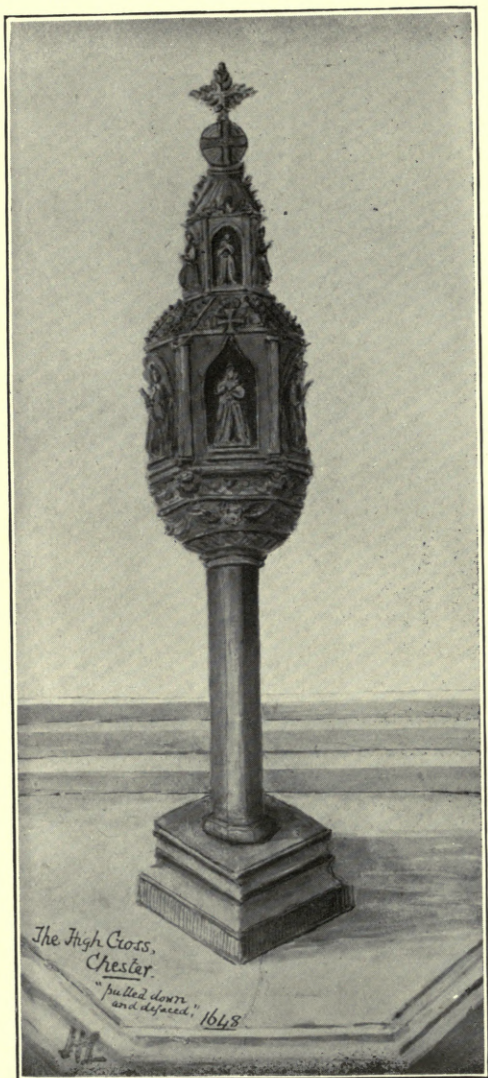


New Series—Vol. XVI., Part II.

Printed and Published for the Society
By G. R. GRIFFITH, GROSVENOR STREET, CHESTER

1909

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(See page 14)

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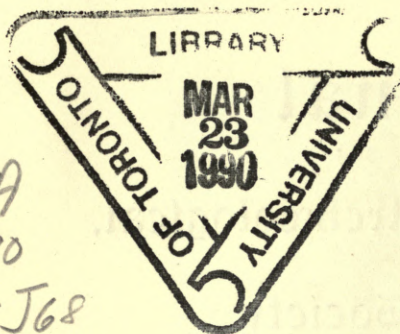


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The Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society desire it to be known that the Authors of any Papers printed in the Society's Journal are alone responsible for the statements or opinions contained in such Papers.

This Volume has been edited by the Hon. Editorial Secretary, the Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A., who takes this opportunity of thanking the Curator (Mr. Alfred Newstead) for preparing the Index.

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The Pentice and other Ancient Law Courts in Chester

BY SIR HORATIO LLOYD

(Read 17th November, 1908)

THOSE among you who look at the advertisements in our local papers, may have seen periodical announcements that the "Pentice" and "Portmote" Courts in this City of Chester would be held on certain dates, to which all parties interested were summoned to attend.

These Courts have been in existence for several centuries; certainly as far back as the *Reign of King Henry III.* (1216-1272).

The Court of "Portmote" is mentioned in a Charter of that reign, as then existing:—

"Me in pleno Portmoto Cestrie remisisse."

That is the *earliest known* reference to the Court of "Portmote."

As to the "Pentice" Court (traditionally said to be the oldest), the *first reference* to it which has been discovered in the old records is in the time of *King Richard II.* (1377-1399), and is of a proceeding, "*in appenticio Cestr.*"

The Records relating to these Courts, as well as other documents of great interest and value, are kept in the Muniment Room at the Town Hall. They are very numerous, consisting of more than 200,000 separate writings. They are now admirably arranged and carefully preserved in a fire-proof room. But many of them have, in times past, suffered grievously from fire and damp, and general neglect. They were arranged in their present order by Mr. Fergusson Irvine, who is well known in this Society, and is the Editor of the "Cheshire Sheaf." I have had access to these documents, but in reference to many of them, and particularly to the ancient Charters relating to the City, I am indebted to Canon Morris's Book, "Chester, during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods," a work full of most interesting and valuable information; and also to the *Harleian MSS.*, chiefly those of Randle Holme, in the British Museum.

In these old Records, in addition to the Courts of "Pentice" and "Portmote," mention is made from time to time of the "Crown Mote," and the "Countie Court." It is somewhat difficult to determine the exact limits of the jurisdiction which was exercised by all these Courts, but it may be generally asserted, that the "Pentice" Court, which was held before the Sheriffs in early times, was chiefly concerned with *debts*; although it had also cognizance of misdemeanours and lesser crimes. In the "Portmote," the greatest number of cases related to binding-over to keep the peace; but it also dealt with cases relating to the *Port* of Chester. The "Crown Mote," dealt with more serious cases of felony. The "Countie Court" has been revived in recent years in another form, and with largely extended jurisdiction and limits.

Although there are references to these Courts in various old Charters and documents, the *principal one*, which granted and confirmed the benefits of the Courts, and conferred other and additional privileges on the City of Chester, is what is known as *The Great Charter of King Henry VII.*, which was granted to the City in the year 1506.

The first provision of this Charter is the creation of the *City into a County of itself*.

The Charter (abbreviated) runs thus:—

“Henry, by the Grace of God, King, &c., for the great affection which we have and bear to our Citye of Chester, . . . and in consequence of the good behaviour and great expences of the inhabitants of the same City, as also the voluntary service many ways rendered by them against our adversaries and rebels, . . . of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, . . . do give and grant, and by these presents have confirmed for Us and our heirs, to the aforesaid Citizens, . . . their successors for ever, that the said Citye and all the grounds within the ditch of the said Citye . . . and all the ground in the precinct and compass of the same, . . . (*wholly excepting our Castle within the Walls of the said Citye*), be exempted and separated . . . from our Shire of Chester, and that the said Citye and the suburbs and hamlets of the same, and all the ground within the precinct and compass of them (except as before excepted), be henceforth a *County by and in itself*, distinct and separate from our County of Chester, and that from henceforth it shall be called and named *the County of the Citye of Chester*.”

Then this Charter provides for the election, by the Citizens, of 24 *Aldermen* and 40 Citizens for the *Common Council*; and then it proceeds to enact that:—

“Of the 24 Aldermen, one, by the unanimous consent and assent of the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other Citizens of the Common Council, shall be chosen and appointed *Recorder* of the Citye aforesaid.”

Then it directs that a Mayor shall be appointed, in these terms:—

“We also will and grant that the aforesaid Citizens and Commonalty shall appoint and choose from among themselves, every successive year for ever, a *Mayor* of the said Citye; and we also will and grant that the aforesaid Citizens . . . shall appoint and choose from among themselves, every successive year, two Citizens for Sheriffs of the said Citye.”

Then follow elaborate provisions for the mode of Election of the Mayor and Sheriffs. And then comes the provision which is *essentially Germane to our present subject: the Confirmation of the Courts of the City, and the recital of their constitution and jurisdiction.*

I must apologize for lengthy references, but I have found it difficult to avoid them.

The Charter directs the Sheriffs:—

“To hold their Courts *in like manner, as other Sheriffs of Us or our heirs in other Counties of Our Realm, hold or shall hold theirs*, and the afsd. Sheriffs of the City of Chester, and their successors for ever shall, in like manner, keep their Courts there, . . . that they may determine all pleas and assizes by complaints (without our writ) . . . concerning all contracts and cases arising within the Citye aforesaid, and the limits thereof *in manner and form as in time past they have been accustomed.*”

And again, the Charter proceeds:—

“We have granted also, and by this, our Charter, confirmed for Us and Our heirs to the afsd. Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, and their successors, for ever, that [they] may have cognizance of all and all manner of pleas, real, personal, and mixed . . . as well of lands and tenements, being within the said Citye, suburbs, hamlets, lands, and

precincts of the same, as of debts, accounts, trespasses, covenants, and other contracts, matters, and cases whatsoever within the same Citye, suburbs, hamlets, and precincts, and circuit of the same (*Our Castle and Our liberty within the bounds commonly called the Gloverstone only excepted*), howsoever arising as well in the presence of Us and Our heirs, as in the absence of Us and Our heirs, as well before the Justices of either Bench Justices appointed to hold Assizes and Justices itinerant, as before all other Justices and Officers of Us, Our heirs and successors, to hold such Assizes before the Mayor and Sheriffs of the same Citye for the time being, in the *Common Hall* of the aforesaid Citye of Chester, with all profits of such pleas howsoever arising without the lett, hindrance, or obstruction of Us or Our heirs, or of Our Justices so that the said Justices do in no wise intermeddle with the cognizance of such pleas arising within the Citye of Chester, &c. . . . We grant, moreover, to the same Mayor and Citizens that they may hold all pleas, complaints, and Assizes without Our writ as well of lands and tenements being within the sd. Citye, &c., as of all trespasses, debts, covenants, contracts, or demands arising within the said Citye."

And then follows a Clause in the Charter, which was, in former days, greatly valued, and was most jealously guarded, viz.:—

"And that none of the Citizens of the afsd. Citye, or their heirs or successors, or any of them, be impleaded or sued before Us, Our heirs and successors, or before any of the Justices of the Common Pleas of Us, Our heirs and successors or the Court of Our County Palatine of Chester, or the Justices itinerant of Us, Our heirs and successors concerning any lands or tenements, or any contracts, covenants, trespasses, debts, or demands, being, arising, or happening within the said Citye, hamlets and suburbs thereof, *but only before the Mayor and Sheriffs of the said Citye, and their successors.*"

Now, although the history of these Chester Courts goes back to a far earlier date than this Charter of

1506—as is evident from the terms of the Charter itself—the jurisdiction claimed and exercised by them *substantially rests upon this Charter*; and, by virtue of it, each Court of “Pentice” and “Portmote” enjoys a jurisdiction exercised by its own inherent authority—“*without*” (as the Charter expresses it) “*our writ*,” which means an *original jurisdiction*.

The extracts I have read are sufficient to show the general nature of the jurisdiction granted to the Courts in question; but, in language more conformable to proceedings of the present day, the jurisdiction of the Courts of “Pentice” and “Portmote” may be stated to extend to *all Actions (without limit as to amount) of contract and tort, where the cause of Action arises within the City, or its limits*. And the Court of “Portmote” has, in addition, jurisdiction in Actions (also without limit as to value) of *ejectment* for lands and tenements within the City or its limits.

The “Crown Mote” has long died out, apparently from disuse; the Criminal Courts of Assize and Quarter Sessions having rendered such a separate jurisdiction unnecessary. The notice calling the Court together ran thus:—

“City of Chester to wit

John Bedward Esqre. Mayor

D. F. Jones Esqre. Recorder.

Notice is hereby given that the ‘Crown Mote’ and ‘Portmote’ Courts, and Genl. Qr. Sessions of the Peace will be held in the same City in the Common Hall of Pleas on Thursday 30th day of March 1815 at 8 o’clock in the morning.

FINCHETT

Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace.”

I can find no record of any business of the "*Crown Mote*" since that date.

The constitution of the Courts of "Pentice" and "Portmote" has been from time to time somewhat altered. The *Recorder* is now (by virtue of the Municipal Corporations Act) the sole Judge of the Local Courts of Record. The practice and procedure has also been varied as occasion required; but the Courts still possess the *ancient jurisdiction granted and confirmed to them by the Charter of King Henry VII.*

The last alteration in the Rules and Regulations of the "Pentice" and "Portmote" Courts was made by me in the year 1870, shortly after I succeeded to the office of Recorder. I found the existing Rules and Procedure had become very cumbrous and out of date. A new and complete set of Rules was framed; which was, in accordance with the law, approved by the Judges of the High Court, and "applied by an Order in Council to the Courts of 'Pentice' and 'Portmote,' to be exercised by the Recorder for the time being of the City and Borough of Chester."

The Charter of King Henry VII. created, so far as Chester is concerned, the office of *Recorder*. In early times, as we have seen from the Charter, the Recorder was *elected* from among the Aldermen; and the first Recorder was *so* elected in 1506. I have been unable to find the Minute recording his election; but there is a very precise entry in the 17th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign (that would be in 1574) of the election of Richard Birkenhead as Recorder. The entry runs thus: "*In interiore Penticio civitatis.*"; then follows the date, and it proceeds:—

“ At which day, yere, and place Richard Birkenhed of the said Citie Esquier, was with one hole and entier voice by the said Maior Aldermen Sheriffs and Common Counsaile of the said Citie elected chosen and sworne to be a freeman of the said Citie elected, and then an Alderman of the said Citie, and afterwards to be Recorder of the Citie aforesaid, in such manner and forme as others like heretofore have ben chosen receyved and sworne.”

Since the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act the Recorder has been appointed *by the Crown*.

There was a *Clerk of the Pentice*, an office of some importance, and as the language of his appointment was somewhat quaint, I will read an extract from one of them, as an illustration of the *old-world phraseology*, though, of course, I cannot convey to you any account of the peculiar *spelling*. It is in the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth (1568):—

“ Whereas the office of Clerkshippe of the Citty of Chester, called the Clerke of the ‘Pentice,’ hath been execut-ed by John Yearmouth Esquier, and by Anthony Harper, or by William Knight his deputie, by the permission and sufferance of the Maior and Recorder, and whereas also the said rowme or office of Clerkeshipp, by the departure from thence of the said Anthony Harper is now voide. And havinge good likeinge of the said William Knight, who hath executed the same office as deputie by the space of eleven yeares, and by all that same tyme hath right honestlye behaved himself therein. Therefore, at an assembly holden in the Common Hall within the said Citty, before us, Wm. Ball, Maior of the said Citty, William Gerard Esquier, Recorder thereof, the Fryday, that is to say, the XIIth day of April in the XIth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God, of England Queen, we the said Maior Recorder, of our wholle free and mutual assent and at the special request of the said William Gerard Esquier, Recorder, have elected and appointed thē said William



Base of the Cross

JH

St. Peter's Church, and Pentice Court.
after Randle Holmes Drawing.
17th Century.

Knight to be and remain Clerke of the 'Pentice,' and Chiefe Clerke as well of the 'Pentice' Court, as also of the 'Portmote' Court, 'Crown Mote,' and County Court."

So much as to the nature of the *Constitution* and *Jurisdiction* of these Ancient Courts. And now, a word about their *designation* and the *titles*, by which, for at least seven centuries, they have been known to the Citizens of Chester.

It has always been understood that the term "Pentice" was derived from the *building in which the Court was held*. The name is an abbreviated form of the French "*Appentis*"—a "pent-house"; and from the Latin "*Appenticium*," which frequently occurs in the early records, and means a shed attached to a building—a "*lean-to*."

In King's Vale Royal (temp. 1656) it is stated that the Mayor "remaineth most part of the day at a place called the 'Pendice,' which is a brave place builded for the purpose, at the *High Cross, under St. Peter's Church, in the midst of the Citye*."

The only existing illustration of this building, here referred to, is one of about the year 1650—a *drawing by Randle Holme*, preserved in the *Harleian MSS*. This building extended the whole length of the south side of St. Peter's Church, and beyond it at the eastern end, "in such sort (according to King's Vale Royal) that a man may stand therein, and see into the Markets, and the four principal streets of the City."

It has, I believe, been thought by some that the "Pentice" was at the *east end* of the Church, in Northgate Street. This is clearly an erroneous idea. Assuming that the line of buildings on the opposite

side of Northgate Street was much as it is now, the street would have been blocked; and all the references to the "Pentice" in the documents are inconsistent with its being at the east end. But Randle Holme's drawing, made nearly 300 years ago, puts the actual site BEYOND DOUBT on the *south side* of the Church.

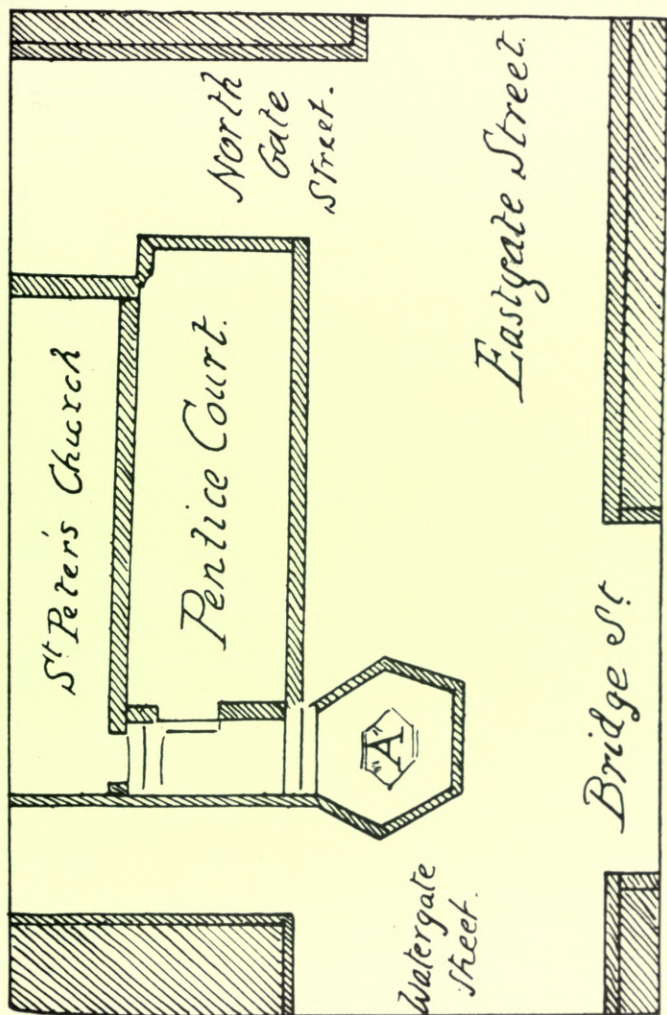
The building was essentially a "lean-to," or "pent-house," apparently built (at all events in Randle Holme's time) of timber. It was in *two stories*. The upper being presumably used as the Court House, as there are references in old documents to "shops" being on the *ground* floor.

Randle Holme's drawing depicts the place about the *middle of the 17th century*; but this, or some other building of a similar "lean-to" kind, had undoubtedly existed on that side for a very long time before that.

Assuming that the "Pentice" Court derived its name from the "lean-to" nature of the building, we have, as already mentioned, knowledge of the existence of the Court in the *13th century*.

With reference to the *High Cross*, which formerly stood opposite to the door of St. Peter's Church, it will be observed from Randle Holme's drawing, that he has indicated its exact *site*. His drawing is supposed to be of the date 1650, and the absence of the High Cross from it is accounted for by the fact that it had been thrown down and defaced by the Parliamentarians in the year 1648.

I have made a drawing of the Cross (as it is believed to have originally appeared), from Canon Morris' book, and *Hemingway's* "History of Chester."



Site of High Cross. "A"

The mutilated remains of it, giving little indication of its original decoration, may now be seen in the Museum in this building.

To return to the "Pentice" Court, we learn from the *Harleian MSS.*, that in 1497 a portion of the "Pentice" was "new builded"; and that, in 1573, the "'Pentice' was enlarged, the inner 'Pentice' made higher, the nerer made lower, and the Sheriffs' Court removed to the *Common Hall*."

As to this building, which is here called the "Common Hall," the account given of it in the *Harleian MSS.* runs thus:—

"A *new Common Hall* was built in *St. Nicholas' Chapel* . . . the Chapel of St. Nicholas serving to little use, the Citizens purchased it unto themselves, and made thereof a two-fold use of great conveniency, and dividing the same by a floor in the middle thereof; the lower room was appointed for the storage of wool, corn, cloth, and other commodities to be rented, and sold by foreigners and strangers at times allowable in the City. And the upper room for a stately Senate House for the assemblies, elections, Courts of His Highness, *Coronmote* for pleas of the Crown, kept there before the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, that are His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, every six weeks—and for the 'Portmote' of Common Pleas, every fortnight—and for the Court of Record for the City, called the 'Pentice' Court, held before the Sheriffs, as the Law appoints."

I think that there has been a little confusion created between *this* Common Hall, and one known by the same name, which existed *years before* in the street off Bridge Street, to which it gave its name, "Common Hall Street."

In the *Harleian MSS.*, it is stated that:—

"The Citizens of the *Plantagenet Period* (1154-1399), met in their Moothall, which gave its name to 'Mothalle Lane,' out of Bridge Street, afterwards called 'Commonhall Lane.'"

Now, the *New Common Hall* (*St. Nicholas' Chapel*), was *not used, at all events, before the year 1488*, and the *Old Common Hall* was *taken down about that time—the end of the 15th century.*

The mistake between the two Common Halls was not unnatural, for an investigation of some of the old Records of the proceedings of the Courts, in their Minutes, discloses the fact that it was usual to describe the *actual* place of sitting of any Court, as “the *Common Hall of Pleas.*” This practice was continued for many years, after *both* the real Common Halls had ceased to exist or be used for public purposes.

The Minutes of the “Pentice” and “Portmote” Courts, in many instances, record the proceedings as taking place in the “Common Hall of Pleas,” down to the period when those Courts were undoubtedly sitting at the Old Town Hall, as they did *from 1701 to 1862.* There can be little doubt that the “Pentice” Court was, from the earliest times, held in the “lean-to” building by St. Peter’s Church, and that it derived its name from the character of the building

It appears, from the extract I have read from the *Harleian MSS.*, that after the Citizens purchased the St. Nicholas’ Chapel in 1488, considerable alterations were made in it; and *some time afterwards* (the exact date of which it is difficult to ascertain), it became the home of the Courts of “Pentice” and “Portmote,” and so remained until the Old Town Hall, or Exchange, was finished in the year 1701.

The late Canon Blomfield, whose welcome presence at these Meetings several here will still remember, in the course of a lecture on St. Nicholas’ Chapel, said:—

"Before the year 1488, the Mayor and Corporation had their Common Hall in the street of that name, but in that year the old Chapel of St. Nicholas (the site of the present Music Hall), became their property, to be held by them so long as they required it for the purposes of a Common Hall. They appear to have so held it until the building of the Exchange, in 1701, when it reverted to the Dean and Chapter."

Accepting this, it would seem that the business, which had been for many years transacted in the Old Common Hall, viz.: the "Portmote," "Crown Mote," and *other Municipal Offices*, was, shortly after the completion of the alterations at St. Nicholas' Chapel, removed to this New Hall, as we know that the Old Common Hall was taken down at the end of the 15th century. But there is *every reason to think that the "Pentice" Court remained at the Cross long after that*; we know that it was "*rebuilt*" in 1497, and enlarged in 1573; and we see, from Randle Holme's drawing, what its appearance was in 1650.

Webb, in "King's Vale Royal," writing in 1656, describes the New Hall as "an upper room for a stately Senate House for the assemblies, Courts of His Highness—Mote for the pleas of the Crown, kept there before the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, every six weeks—and for the 'Portmote' of Common Pleas every fortnight—and for the Court of Record of the City, called the '*Pentice*' Court, held before the *Sheriffs*."

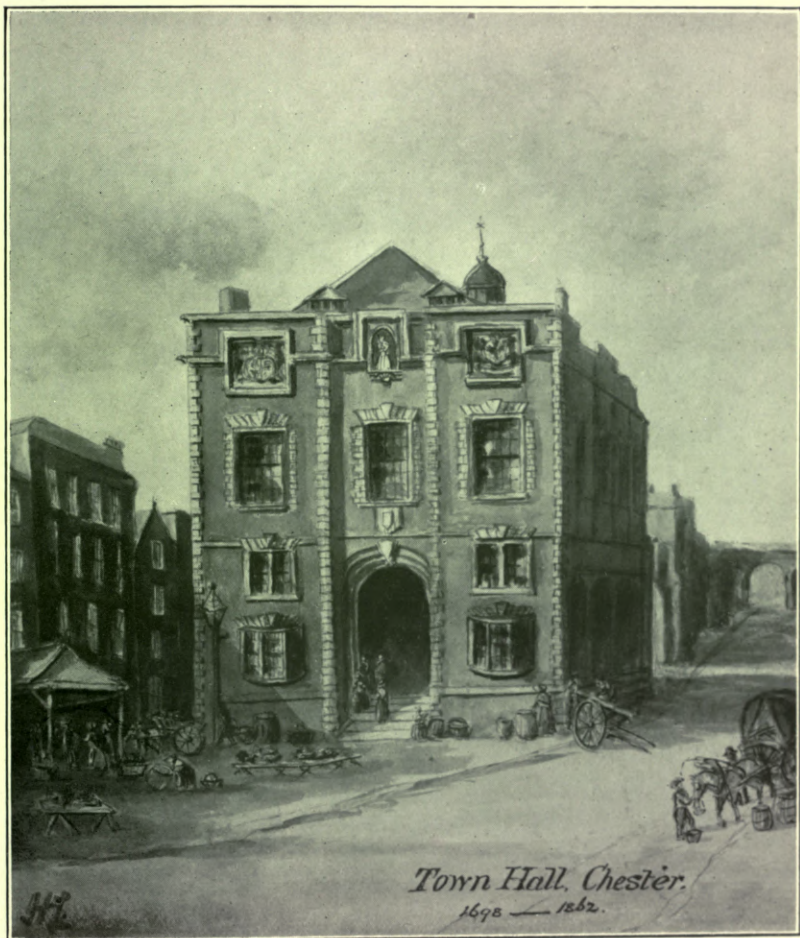
As to the exact date when the business of the "Pentice" Court was transferred to the new premises in St. Nicholas' Chapel, there is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, no record. We know that the "Pentice" and other Courts, and the municipal business generally, were removed to the "Exchange" on its

completion in 1701. The "*Pentice*" Court building, however, remained at the Cross, in the condition, presumably, represented in Randle Holme's drawing, down to the year 1803.

In that year, at a Vestry Meeting of St. Peter's Church, it was unanimously agreed that "as the Corporation was discussing the necessity of the removal of the old "*Pentice*" Court, it would be a great improvement in case the "*Pentice*" Court was taken down, to remove the old building over the Church steps, known as the '*Parvise*' or '*Parson's Chamber*.'" When the "*Pentice*" Court was taken down, this "*Parvise*" remained for a time, but was afterwards removed.

The building of the "*Exchange*" was finished in the year 1701, and *then* everything was removed from St. Nicholas' Chapel, and from the "*Pentice*" building (if anything *at that time* was remaining in the latter place) to *the then new Exchange*; which from that date, for 160 years, became the home of all the remaining Courts, and of all municipal business.

The business of the Courts of "*Portmote*" and "*Pentice*" was carried on in the new Exchange from this time (1701) to its destruction by fire in 1862. Many cases of interest were tried there; and many able men, who afterwards rose to considerable rank in their profession, were heard there; among them Mr. Leycester, who was afterwards Recorder; Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Richards, Mr. Topping, and Mr. Abbott; and, in one case (which I have had the advantage of reading, by the kindness of the Sheriff), Mr. Erskine appeared specially in an Action in the "*Portmote*" Court to establish a Will.



Town Hall, Chester.

1698 — 1862.

It is interesting to note the hours at which the Courts sat in those days. The case to which I refer took two days, and began the first morning at *eight o'clock*, sat till *ten o'clock* at night, and the next morning at *seven o'clock*. I am afraid that the sitting of Courts at *half-past ten*, and rising soon after *four*, is a modern invention; not that there is not a good deal to be said in favour of the movement.

In 1862 the "Exchange" was destroyed by fire; and as that event took place nearly 50 years ago, there are comparatively few here who ever saw that building, I have represented it on the screen. It stood on what is now open space, the Town Hall Square, and was a typical erection of the period, begun in the Reign of William and Mary, and finished in the early part of the Reign of Queen Anne.

When it was burnt down, the Courts were homeless, and temporary accommodation had to be provided in all kinds of places, suitable and unsuitable; such as the Music Hall, the Refectory, and the Corn Exchange, all of which had to be fitted up for the purpose.

When I became Recorder in 1866, the foundation-stone of the present Town Hall had just been laid; and as it was not to be completed for four years, the late Duke of Westminster (then Member for the City) was good enough, at my request, to pilot a Bill through Parliament, enabling the City Courts to be held for five years at the Castle. An Act of Parliament was necessary to legalize this, as the sittings of the Courts were necessarily *within the City*; and, as you will remember, the Charter of King Henry VII.,

excepted the Castle from being part of the City. In pursuance of this Act, the sittings of the City Courts were held at the Castle until the present Town Hall was ready in 1869.

It may be worth while to refer to an incident which is connected with this Act of Parliament, which may not, perhaps, be known to everybody. Before that time it had been the duty of the Sheriff of the *City* of Chester to carry into effect the execution of all persons upon whom sentence of death had been passed at any Assizes for the County of Chester; and as, of course, the great majority of such cases came from the County, it was naturally considered a hardship on the City Sheriff to have that duty cast upon him. The passage of this Bill through Parliament afforded an opportunity of getting rid of this disagreeable duty, and a clause was inserted in the Act which thereafter placed the obligation on the Sheriff of the County.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to mention another incident, which made the provision in King Henry VII.'s Charter (excepting the Castle from the City), the means of solving a difficulty which had arisen between the County and the City. The funds subscribed for a Statue of the late Queen Victoria were contributed by the County and the City, in substantial proportions, and a little rivalry was created between them as to the *site* for the Statue. The City desired to place it in the Town Hall Square, but the County demurred to this as ignoring them. The rival claims were eventually satisfactorily solved by a happy suggestion to place it in the *Castle Yard*, this being in the County, though, also, within the City Walls.

I come back now to the "Pentice" and "Portmote" Courts on their arrival at the new Town Hall in 1869.

They were regularly held every quarter, and for a few years there was a certain amount of business done; but it gradually fell off, and I think I am right in saying that the *last case* heard in either of those Courts was in the year 1875. As the Courts still exist in name, the formality of holding them is obliged to be observed; but it is obvious that they are now of little, or no, utility. Other Courts are held frequently, whose jurisdiction has been so largely extended, not only as to the amount brought within their cognizance, but also in the jurisdiction and the nature of the business brought within their competency, that they are sufficient for all purposes.

I think another reason for the decay of the "Pentice" and "Portmote" Courts may be found in the change in public opinion as to *limited areas*. In former days, as we have seen, the Citizens were exceedingly jealous as to intrusion by others, and were careful to preserve their right to determine their own disputes. But in these days, the present feeling seems to be that it is better to have a somewhat wider and more (possibly) independent tribunal, and one less likely to be influenced by local knowledge, obtained beforehand, the facilities for which are so great in the present day. It would be difficult in these days, and in so small an area as the City, to get a jury, for instance, who had not heard, more or less, and perhaps very imperfectly, the details or merits of any case arising within so narrow a jurisdiction; and, naturally, it is preferred that a dispute should be heard by minds coming fresh to the hearing.

I have now traced, I fear very imperfectly, the Courts of "Pentice" and "Portmote" from the earliest knowledge we have of them, down to the present time. After a lapse of at least seven or eight centuries, during which they played a not unimportant part in the life and history of this City, I think it has to be admitted that they are now, practically, extinct.

I should like to add a word or two with reference to somewhat similar Courts in other ancient Cities, which have names and titles as quaint, and curiously derived, as our own.

In the City of *Bristol*, there are two old Courts which have curious titles, and have as remote an origin as our Chester ones.

They are called the "*Tolsey*," and the "*Pie Poudre*." With reference to them, the Recorder of Bristol writes me:—

"The word "*Tolsey*" is derived from *Toll* and *Sedes*—the seat or place of Toll. The Court was originally held before the Seneschall of Bristol Castle, acting as the King's Steward. The Court is supposed to date from the Saxon period, and is mentioned as an existing Court in a Charter of King Edward III. (14th century), which preserves the rights and speaks of the 'Pleas which were accustomed to be held in our Court in the said town of Bristol, called the Court of Tollsey before our Seneschall.' "

The "*Pie Poudre*" Court is so called from the *dusty suitor* who appealed to it—" *Pied a Poudre*." The term "*Pie Poudre*" has been attributed by some writers to the *speed* of their procedure; justice was administered as quickly as dust could be removed from the feet of the litigants.

There are several such Courts in England, as appears from a Statute of King Richard III. (15th century), prohibiting them from exceeding their powers. They were the "Market Courts," and decided matters without pleadings.

In Boroughs, the "Pie Poudre" Court was sometimes merely a branch of the Borough Court, held during a Market or Fair. Thus, at *Bristol*, a "Pie Poudre" Court was held during the fair of 14 days; and during the remainder of the year local jurisdiction was exercised in the "Tolsey" Court, and this tribunal was suspended while the fair lasted.

There were similar Courts at *Gloucester*, *Grantham*, *Leicester*, *Newark*, and *other places*, but the records do not appear to be very full.

The Recorder of Bristol adds:—

"The Bristol 'Pie Poudre' Court is believed to be the only one that survives, and it only does so nominally. The old Record says that the 'Pie Poudre' Court was held in the open street for 14 days after the 29th Sept., and pending that period the sittings of the 'Tolsey' Court were suspended. The 'Tolsey' Court still does work in debt collecting, as it is unlimited in amount, and has foreign attachment. How it became the Court of the Corporation I know not. The Recorder is now the Judge, and I try a few cases each sitting."

Then, the Recorder of *York* furnishes me with some interesting information with reference to that City. He says:—

"There used to be plenty of ancient Courts at York, but I fear that the Municipal Corporation Act swept nearly all away. The Recorder has at present a Civil Court of Record surviving (the limits to the jurisdiction of which are wide), but it is becoming decrepit, through disuse. In former days

there were three Sheriffs' Courts, called, '*The Sheriffs Turn,*' '*the County Court,*' and the '*Court of Common Pleas*' (which last one seems to correspond with the present Court of Record. There was also '*The Court of Guildhall,*' over which the Mayor used to preside with the Sheriffs, and Mr. Recorder sits as Judge with them and gives rules and judgments therein.

"Then there was the '*Court of Hustings*' in which Deeds might be enrolled, recoveries passed, and Wills proved. Writs of right—patents—Writs of waste, partition, and dower may be determined for any matters within the City of York and the liberties thereof.

"Then, a '*Court of Orphans*' was kept monthly at the will of the Mayor—for binding apprentices—granting weekly allowances to poor and needy '*Citizens*' (which seems a mild kind of old age pensions), 'and providing for fatherless children, poor widows, &c.'"

Altogether York seems to have had its full share of opportunities for litigation, and of relief of various kinds; but, with the exception of the one Court (the Civil Court of Record) over which the Recorder now presides, they seem all to have died out.

In the City of *Liverpool* there is an ancient Court called the "Court of Passage," which for many years has done, and still does, a considerable amount of business. "Passage," or "Passagium," was the description of one of the numerous *tolls*, which certain places had the right, by Charters, to levy on goods brought into their Borough for the purpose of sale in markets or fairs. Persons making default in paying these tolls were brought before the Court, and that was probably why the name was given to the Court, as collecting "Passage" Toll. The Liverpool Court was originally held before bailiffs; afterwards the Mayor became the Judge. The jurisdiction was

from time to time extended from collection of tolls, to disputes between the burgesses. Then, by a Statute of William IV., a Barrister was appointed as *Assessor* to the Mayor; and in 1893, an Act of Parliament (which recites that the Court of Passage in Liverpool is an ancient Court of Record for the trial of Civil Actions) was passed, and the Assessor was thereafter to be styled the *Presiding Judge*; the Mayor still being, nominally, the head of the Court.

In *Chester*, a Charter of King Edward I. in 1300, gave the Citizens the right to take these tolls; "passage toll" being mentioned among them, and this right was confirmed to them by King Henry VIIth's Charter in 1506. But I have not included a "Court of Passage" as one of Chester's ancient Courts, as I find no distinct reference to any such Court *eo nomine*; claims relating to *tolls* were probably dealt with in the other tribunals.

I have now exhausted my subject as far as I am able. I can only say that I beg to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me in handling this somewhat dry subject, and to express a hope that I have not wearied you with too much detail.






On the discovery of Three Documents
furnishing additional evidence relating to the
family of the Randle Holmes, of Chester

BY HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

(Read 22nd December, 1908)

N the 17th November, 1890, my friend, the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper before our Society, on "The Four Randle Holmes, of Chester, Antiquaries, Herald's, and Genealogists, c. 1571 to 1707," which is printed in Volume IV. of the New Series of our Society's Transactions (page 113) with a pedigree and illustrations.

This valuable paper gives all that is known of a family to whom (as Mr. Earwaker said) Chester is so much indebted for the wealth of information they have preserved for posterity in their collections, contained in some 270 Volumes of the Harleian MSS., now in the British Museum.

Mr. Earwaker also referred to the fact that, "with the fourth Randle Holme, the history of this old Chester family abruptly terminates . . . Although he had no surviving issue, yet he names his two half-brothers, George Holme and John Holme (in his Will, dated 2nd June, 1704), and makes them his

heirs. No descendants of these two half-brothers are now known, nor are any particulars of their own lives at present forthcoming. His work as a Herald Painter at Chester was taken by Francis Bassano, who was admitted to the freedom of the City in 1711."

Now, my excuse for this paper is my discovery of documents, which furnish some little additional evidence respecting these two half-brothers, and also give us some further facts relating to the family history.

My firm, in conjunction with another firm of Chester Solicitors (Mr. Ernest Brassey), have recently sold an estate at Knutsford, and all the requirements of the modern Conveyancer (who is a perfect Goth as to ancient writings) having been satisfied, I, in conjunction with Mr. Turner, examined the old family papers remaining. Amongst them, I found the three documents which I now exhibit. They are absolutely valueless as title deeds, and bear no relation to the family who sold the property. Both Mr. Turner and myself are of opinion that the proper place for them is this Museum, in the safe custody of our Society, for access to future students of Chester history.

The first of these documents is a deed, dated the 3rd of March, 1708, and made between "John Hulme [*sic*] late of the City of Chester (but now of Neither [*sic*] Knutsford in the County of Chester) Painter Son and heir apparent of Randle Hulm [*sic*] late of the City of Chester Herrold [*sic*] ate Armes deceased" of the one part, and the purchaser, a Mr. William Skellorn, of Nether Knutsford, Joiner, of the other part; whereby John Holme (miscalled throughout the

deed John Hulme), in consideration of £100 paid to him by Skellorn, sold and demised to Skellorn, for a term of 2000 years, "All and singular the Cottages buildings land and premises with their appurtenances commonly called or known by the name of the Old-Cann Office containing by common estimation half an acre of land of large Cheshire Measure or thereabouts be the same more or less now in the tenure of the said John Hulme his Assignee or Assignees all which said premises (amongst other things) were in and by one judgment (by the said Randle Hulme deceased) had and obtained in the Common Hall of Pleas in the County aforesaid on Monday the 26th day of April in the 27th year of the reign of our late sovereign Lord Charles the Second against Charles Wilson since also deceased for the sum of Seven hundred pounds debt and Twenty three shillings and two pence for damages as by the record thereof may appear (then vested in) the said John Hulme by virtue thereof" and of other good assurances in the law. This deed is in excellent preservation, and is signed *John Holme*

in a clear hand, judging from which I should say that he was an educated man. The Seal is perfect and is of black wax, bearing the impression of a man's bust, with a wreath around the head. An attestation is endorsed with a Memorandum of Attornment by the tenants, Peter Moir and Edward Goodier, and with a receipt for the consideration money, signed by John Holme, and witnessed.

With the deed is a copy of the Record referred to in it. It is a copy of a Writ of *Scire Facias* (11th April,

1685), with the return, execution, and endorsements. The following is a condensed translation of this record, for which I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., and to Mr. Robert Gladstone, Junr., M.A., B.C.L.:—

James II., by the grace of God, King of England &c. to the Sheriff of Chester, Greeting. Whereas Ran'us [Ranulfus] Holme, at the Chester Sessions held there in the Common Hall of Pleas on Monday, 26th April 27 Charles II. [1675], before Job Charlton, Sergeant-at-law, Justice of Chester, did recover against Charles Wilson late of Knutsford, a debt of £700, and £1 3 2 as damages by reason of the non-payment of the said debt; And whereas the said Charles Wilson is dead: And whereas it is our Will that execution of the said Judgment should be enforced; We command you to inform Charles Tucke, administrator of the goods and chattels of the late Charles Wilson during the minority of his son George Wilson, that he must appear on the first day of the next Sessions at Chester to show cause why the said Ranulfus should not have execution of the said Judgment. Witness myself at Chester, 11th April in the first year of our reign [1685].

RETURN TO THE ABOVE WRIT (undated), states that Charles Tucke was duly ordered to appear as above directed.

EXECUTION ORDERED. 1st August, 1685, by *Fieri Facias*.

ENDORSEMENTS (translation). "Copy of *Scire Facias*. Four folios by Mr. Cooke. 2s. 8d." Also (in another handwriting), "Deeds of Bowling Green House and Land &c. &c."

The Second Deed is an assignment dated 4th January, 1709-10, from William Skellorn to John Skellorn, which recites the deed of the 3rd March, 1708, and also one of the 19th November, 1709, also made be-

tween John Holme and William Skellorn, which released and absolutely conveyed to William Skellorn, the premises mentioned in the prior assignment of 3rd March, 1708.

Now these documents prove:—

1. That Randle Holme (III.) died intestate.
2. That George Holme (who was baptized at St. Mary's, 3rd January, 1670-1), was dead prior to the 3rd March, 1708, and that he died intestate and without issue.
3. That John Holme was the last male survivor of this old and celebrated Chester family. That he had left Chester and was living at Knutsford on the 3rd March, 1708, and that he was alive on the 19th November, 1709. He was then 25 years of age, having been baptized at St. Mary's, Chester, 21st February, 1683-4.

His being described in these deeds as "son and Heir *apparent*," and not son and heir of his Father, Randle Holme (III.), was strictly correct, as Randle Holme (IV.) only died on the 30th August, 1707, leaving a widow; therefore, possibility of his having issue was not extinct on the 3rd March, 1708; and, moreover, the same possibility may have applied to George Holme, the elder half-brother (we have no information about him except the fact that he was alive on the 2nd June, 1704, and that he was dead prior to the 3rd March, 1708). No doubt the legal advisers of the Messrs. Skellorn, the purchasers satisfied themselves on these points, and also that the property at Knutsford did not pass under the Will of Randle Holme (IV.), and that John Holme was the absolute owner of this property, as recited in these two deeds.

4. The copy Record proves, I venture to think, that there had been a family law-suit. The second Wife of Randle Holme (III.), and the Mother of George and John Holme, was a daughter of George Wilson, of Chester, Gentleman. Perhaps Charles Wilson, the defendant, against whom Randle Holme (III.) obtained the Judgment, was a brother of his Wife. One of the armorial tablets in St. John's Church, painted by Randle Holme, bears the following inscription :—

“William Wilson of the Citty of Chester Alderman and Justice of the Peace. Mayor in the year 1671. He died 3rd February 1679 age 71 yeares.”

Perhaps he was a member of this family.

With regard to the property conveyed by these documents, it will be observed the endorsement on the Record calls it “Bowling Green House”; but in both the deeds it is described as “*Ye Old-Cann-Office.*”

Henry Green in his “Knutsford, its Traditions and History,” published in 1859, says :—

“The House on the Heath-side, once occupied by Charles Cholmondeley, Esquire, was, in 1741, and for many years after, indeed, by some old people is even now called the ‘*Cann Office,*’ being probably the place where weights and measures were examined and stamped At one time the Cann Office was esteemed no *cannie* house, because of the secret passages in it; one of these was said to be like an upright ladder from the higher rooms to the cellar; and which might seem intended either for a hiding place or for an escape. There is now no trace of this secret passage, though tradition declares that Edward Higgins, the Highwayman, made use of it when he escaped from the Constables who had just taken him prisoner on a charge of house-breaking and murder.”

I hardly think that Mr. Green's derivation of the name "Cann Office" can be correct. Mr. Robert Gladstone Junr., M.A., B.C.L., of Liverpool (who is the best authority I know on place names), thinks that both "Cann" and "Office" are corruptions—probably the two words are one—the name of a dwelling house. There is an Inn called Cann Office, near to Garthbibio, in North-west Montgomeryshire.

Mr. Green mentions that the Old Sessions House stood at the corner leading from Princess Street to the Race Course, near to the Cann Office. The Midsummer and Michaelmas Sessions of the County were formerly held at Nantwich and Northwich, but they were removed from Nantwich to Knutsford about 1760 (in consequence of the Town Hall in the former place, which was badly constructed, falling to pieces), and from Northwich about 1784. In 1818, the present County Gaol and Sessions House at Knutsford were completed. "The Countryman's Ramble," written soon after, says of them:—

"The first thing we saw at the top of the town,
Was a building so grand, so high in renown,
That a Lord might live there; but one hardly believes
That such a fine place was built only for thieves."

Referring to the tenant of the Cann Office (Edward Higgins), Mr. Green gives a copy of the entry from the Registers of the Parish Church of his marriage to Katherine Birtles, Spinster, 21st April, 1757. One of the witnesses was *John Skellorn*, who was, Mr. Green says, a draper in business at Knutsford. Also of the baptism of his five children. With regard to the baptisms of four of the children, the entry is "Edward Higgins of Nether Knutsford, Gent." Higgins must have dwelt in Knutsford eight or nine

years. His wife was of a respectable family in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Green further says:—

“I have been told he was on visiting terms, as well as housebreaking terms, with the neighbouring gentry. He hunted with them during the morning, dined with them during the afternoon, and made himself familiar with their plate chests by night.”

The Squire's tale in “Household Words” (December 1853), attributed to Mrs. Gaskell, the Authoress of “Canford,” &c., narrates some of his exploits:—

“At Knutsford he appeared as a Gentleman, keeping horses, following the usual sports of that day of a man of independent fortune. He (like the celebrated Dick Turpin 1706-1739), kept a Black Bess, or some equally swift roadster; for, on one occasion, when he had been pillaging a house near Bristol, the gallant mare brought him home in an incredibly short time, so as to enable him to establish an alibi . . . Higgins, on one occasion, when in custody in his own house (the Cann-Office) requested permission to go to his bedroom to get some clothing, and made his escape, as was supposed, by some secret passage from his bedroom to the cellar, and thence to the garden . . . Higgins had been at a County Assembly in Knutsford, and observed how splendidly a Lady Warburton was attired in diamonds and other jewels; in his mind's eye they were all set down as plunder for Cann-Office House. He left the Assembly at an early hour, and mounting his horse, took the road towards Arley. After awhile the family coach came rattling along, but he passed the carriage instead of attacking it; he then turned back for the assault, and was just about to attempt the robbery when he was disconcerted by Lady Warburton perceiving him and saying: ‘Good night, Mr. Higgins! Why did you leave the ball so early.’ Being thus recognised, he gave up the attack and her jewels escaped.”

De Quincey, in his “Autobiographic Sketches,” gives an account of Higgins.

The Rev. Edward Hinchcliffe (whose son was an original member of our Society), in his learned account of the Parish of Barthomley, tells the following tale about Higgins :—

“My Grandfather met Higgins at Oulton Park, the seat of Mr. Egerton, which was filled with Company. Almost every one in good Society in those days took snuff, and it was the fashion to make a display of a handsome snuff box, if you could, large sums of money being expended for the purpose. In the evening several parties sat down to Whist; one of these consisted of Mr. Egerton, Higgins, my Grandfather, and another, each one placing his snuff box on the table at his side. That of Mr. Egerton was unusually splendid and expensive, and, for some special reason, highly valued by him; of course it attracted the attention and admiration of the three visitors at the table, all of whom took it up and examined it. The next morning, to the great discomfort of the whole party, Mr. Egerton announced that it was missing, and asked advice how to act. Higgins was particularly forward in suggesting how to proceed, and his zeal and quickness were a theme of general admiration. All the servants in the house, whether belonging to the establishment or not—male and female—were suddenly summoned into the hall, and kept there, whilst the constable, assisted by the gentlemen, searched their apartments and trunks, but in vain; neither box or thief were discovered, though it was clear that someone belonging to the house must have taken it, as no marks of a person breaking into the house could be seen. After Higgins was sentenced to death (as he was for robbing a house in Wales, and was executed 7th November, 1767, at Caermarthen), he included in his general confession (the statement) that he himself had stolen the box. He had accompanied Mr. Egerton upstairs, observed the room he entered was a dressing room, guessed that he might leave the box on the table, waited till he thought all were quietly asleep, gently stole out of his own room into the dressing room, found his prize, carried it off, hid it out of doors, and the next morning denounced the thief and planned his capture. The snuff box, no doubt, helped to keep his hunters.”

So much for the Cann-Office House and its tenant of 1757-66; now to go back to the Randle Holme family.

Mr. Earwaker, in his paper, says that the work of Randle Holme (IV.) as a herald-painter was taken by Francis Bassano, who was admitted to the freedom of the City in 1711; and in a footnote he refers to Bassano's signature on certain MSS. in the British Museum.

Now, I have recently acquired a receipt for painting a room in the house in Newgate Street, built about 1700 by Squire Andrew Kendrick, of the Nant Clwyd family, whose niece married Sir George W. Farmer, Bart., and lived there for many years. On the death of her daughter it was sold to Mr. Storrar, whose son now occupies it. As this receipt bears Bassano's signature, it would be well if it was preserved with the other documents; and therefore I leave it with them.

At some future time, perhaps, further information respecting this very celebrated Chester family may be forthcoming, and we may be able to complete the pedigree of those who did so much to preserve the history of other Cheshire families.

I hope, hereafter, to give some particulars respecting the Chester family of "Harvey," three of whom are included in the list of twenty-six members of the old lodge of Freemasons in Chester, of which Randle Holme III. mentions he was a member in 1650, and to which Mr. Earwaker refers in his able paper.



Some Early 18th century Brasses in Ince Church

BY THE REV. F. G. SLATER, M.A.

(Read 19th January, 1909)

BEFORE speaking of the Brasses in the church at Ince, I have been asked to say a few words about the buildings known to us in that parish as "The Monastery." These buildings are about two hundred yards north of the church, which, together with the manor of Ince, belonged to St. Werburgh's Abbey before the Conquest.

It is assumed, by *Ormerod* and others, that the edifice was quadrangular, and that it stood within a vast moat hewn in the solid rock. Of the quadrangle, two sides, or parts of two sides, remain. The north side, with its massive walls, heavy buttresses, and a double-headed doorway in the midst, is now occupied as two cottages. On the eastern side is a large hall with seven tall square-headed windows, of which, as *Ormerod* puts it, those on the eastern side are included within a range of elliptical arches. Traces of two such arches, and of the windows beneath them, are also clearly visible on the south end of the hall. At the north end are the remains of a minstrels' gallery,

which has two stairways leading up to it. Both gallery, windows, and arches, are later than what I have now to attempt to describe.

In 1399, Abbot Henry de Sutton "had licence by patent to enkernel, or fortify, his manor house of Inise" (*Ormerod*). Evidences of this fortification are to be seen in the shape of five loopholes on the western side of the hall, commanding, curiously enough, the inside of the quadrangle; and there is another loophole in the north-east corner, commanding the slope of the hill towards the Mersey. Within this same hall, and running along the whole extent of its western side, is a passage in the thickness of the wall. From it the loopholes were manned. Three of these loopholes defend an outer doorway, which is separated from an inner doorway by the width of the passage. There is some evidence that this passage did not end where it is now roughly walled up, but continued southwards. Among other perplexing circumstances is the fact that, in the south end of the building, the two windows, with the elliptical arches already mentioned, seem to constitute an external feature. On the other hand, south of this again, there is a small doorway opening into the supposed continuation of the passage; there is also what appears to have been a buttery hatch; and there are other tokens that this was not the end of the building.

Returning to the long narrow passage: in order to reach the uppermost of the loopholes, immediately over the fortified doorway, the height of the passage rises considerably, and it is, as it were, arched over with what appears to be the under portion of two flights of stairs. In September last it was ascertained that the wall above these steps is solid. At the same

time, one or two excavations were made, with the object of discovering any crypt or subterranean passage that might exist. Nothing, however, was found but the solid rock.

Before leaving the buildings, it should be mentioned that a short passage, similar to the one of which I have been speaking, runs along the western wall of the other, or north side of the remains.

I am sorry not to be able to speak more fully or adequately about this very interesting old place. I live in hopes that some expert, such as Mr. St. John Hope, may some day be induced to inspect it. As to its use, no doubt it was, as has always been supposed, a country residence of the Abbot of Chester. In the survey after the dissolution, there is found among the outgoings of St. Werburgh's Abbey, "Wagis of pryste s'vyng in the church of Ince, iiij^{li} vi^s viij^d." This does not look as if there were numerous priests permanently at hand.

Whatever these old buildings may have been, they went the way of so many other monastic properties. They did not remain in the possession of the church which had held them since before the Conquest, and which was now to become the Cathedral Church of Chester. Together with the rest of the parish and manor of Ince, they passed into the hands of the notorious Sir Richard Cotton, and thence to the house of Cholmondeley; who also acquired the great Abbey of Vale Royal. Some time later this same family became, by marriage, lords of the manor of Great Barrow.

Now in the eighth year of King Charles I., there was living at Great Barrow a tenant of Squire Cholmondeley, whose name was Ralph Bellis. He seems to

have been a person of some substance, and perhaps of some education. But his family, if they had been settled at Barrow for fifty years, were not of sufficient consequence to appear in the "Somerset Herald's Visitation" in 1580. Perhaps they had more recently come from Wales, for "Bellis" is "Ap-Ellis" (a name with which compare Bevan and Bowen). However that may be, Ralph Bellis marries one Katharine Whitby in 1633, and to this couple is born, in 1634, their eldest son, John. By the time John Bellis is grown up the Barrow registers get into a hopeless muddle. Other Bellises are to be found there; and some of them attain to the style and dignity of "Mr." But for the marriage of John Bellis, and the baptism of his offspring, I have searched those registers in vain. Nevertheless, John Bellis, in the year 1669, had a son named Robert.

Robert Bellis is the hero of what I have now to bring before you. I imagine him to have been a clever, dreamy, serious boy, and to have attracted the notice of his father's landlord, the reigning Cholmondeley of Vale Royal. The boy was sent to school to a Mr. Robinson, at Mickle Trafford; and when he reached his sixteenth year, he was entered as a sizar at Christ's College, Cambridge. About this Mr. Robinson, I have not been able to discover anything. He may have been the Hugh Robinson whose wife, Mary, was buried at Plemstall in 1682. It seems strange that nothing should be known of a schoolmaster living so near Chester, and capable of turning out, as will be seen, a very respectable scholar.

The position of sizar was a very humble one; but the boy made the best use of his time and opportunities. His college tutor was Thomas Waterhouse, son of the wellknown Jonas Waterhouse of Bradford.

In 1689 Robert Bellis took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, at the age of twenty; and on St. Thomas's Day, 1690, he was ordained. The rule of the church is that a man cannot be admitted to Holy Orders before the age of twenty-three, "unless he have a Faculty." Such a Faculty was granted to our youthful cleric by Bishop Nicholas Stratford, in January 1691.

In view of his ordination, Robert Bellis was presented by Mr. Cholmondeley to the benefice, such as it was, of Ince. I do not know what the endowment of the living of Ince can have been, beyond a "pension" of £4 6s. 8d. paid, as already stated, by the monastery before the dissolution, and to this day paid by the Dean and Chapter to the incumbent. But the Cholmondeley family, on their own account, allowed Robert Bellis the sum of £20 per annum.

Concerning the country parson of that day, *Dean Swift*, with whom Robert Bellis was contemporary, wrote as follows:

"The vicar will probably receive presents now and then from his parishioners, and perhaps from his squire, who, although he may be apt sometimes to treat his parson a little superciliously, may probably be softened by a little humble demeanour. The vicar is likewise generally sure to find on his admittance to the living a convenient house and barn in repair, with a garden and a field or two to graze a few cows and one horse for himself and his wife. He has probably a market very near him, perhaps in his own village. No entertainment is expected by his visitor beyond a pot of ale and a piece of cheese. His wife is little better than Goody in her birth, education, or dress; and as to himself, we must let his parentage alone. If he be the son of a farmer it is very sufficient, and his sister may very decently be chambermaid to the squire's wife. He goes about on working days in a grazier's coat, and will not scruple to assist his workmen in harvest times. His daughters

shall go to service or be sent apprentice to the sempstress in the next town, and his sons are put to honest trades."—*Essay on the Fates of Clergymen.*

That Robert Bellis received a yearly present from his squire we have just seen; that he was the son of a farmer there is little doubt. But his wife was very much better than "Goody"; I should be surprised to learn that his daughter was apprenticed to a sempstress; and, certainly, all his sons went to college, and became clergymen.

But to return. On January 7th, 1692, Robert Bellis, being then minister of the parish of Ince, was married to Sarah Holt, of Chester. It seems strange to find one little more than a lad in Holy Orders, a married man, and incumbent of a parish. But our registers agree with the admission books of Christ's College, in showing that at this time he was but two-and-twenty years of age.

And now a family of little children begins to arrive at the Parsonage. When the Rev. Robert Bellis travelled to Cambridge to take the degree of M.A., which he did in 1696, he must have left his wife at home with his eldest son (a boy of three) and his second son (a baby). Of the children—there came to be six in all—I shall have something to say later on.

Meanwhile, I should conjecture that Mr. Bellis eked out his slender income by acting as tutor to at least one boy. This was Samuel, son and heir of John Hardware, Esquire, the descendant of an Elizabethan alderman and mayor of this City. The Hardwares have gone; but at the time of which I speak they owned property at Bromborough; and they also held Peele Hall, in the parish of Tarvin, under Mr. Bellis's

patron, the squire of Vale Royal. Tarvin is ten miles from Ince, and perhaps the boy would ride over from his father's home there. Doubtless he lodged under his tutor's roof. The family at Peele was a very large one; young Samuel had thirteen sisters and two brothers. Poor boy, a day came when he left home never to return. I think he must have been drowned while bathing or boating in the river Mersey. At all events, he died on June 7th, 1701, and was buried in the chancel of Ince church on the following day, being then fifteen years of age.

This brings us to the first of our four brasses. The inscriptions on all four, I may say here, are in Latin, with a word or two of Greek on three of the four. They are dated within seven years of one another, and were doubtless all written by the scholarly minister, the Rev. Robert Bellis. They are, perhaps, *in situ*, near together in a line on the north wall of the chancel, two on either side of our north-east window.

The earliest brass is headed—

Ὁν φιλεῖ Θεός,
Θνήσκει νέος.

words familiar to us in the shape: "Whom the Gods love die young." Then comes this:

Infra sunt
Samuelis Iohannis
Hardware de Brombrough
in comitatu Cestriæ Armigeri filij
Natu maximi, cineres; qui obiit Sept:
Id: Junij Anno Dom: 1701.¹

¹ Beneath are the ashes of Samuel, eldest son of John Hardware, of Bromborough, in the County of Chester, Esquire; who died June 7th, 1701.

Eheu ! quam subito pernicibus avolat alis
 Maxima spes hominum non diuturna manet
 An vidistis ubi radijs rubescit horizon
 Solis ? ibi Phæbus gurgite tollit equos
 Et jubar immensum spargens, micat æthere toto,
 Omne patet cælum nubila densa volant :
 Sed vix et ne vix medium pertendit Olympum
 Cùm fugit ex oculis abdita nube dies

 Sic juvenis vernans, ah ! quid, miserabile dictu !
 Omina primævo germine fausta canens,
 Volvitur in tenebris lapsus de vertice summo,
 Corruit in fluctus lucida flamma cito.
 Heu ! cecidit tecti caligine solis jmago,
 Murmure cum tristi flumine mersa vago.

From the structure of these verses, and the fact that they are divided (eight lines followed by six), I imagine that Mr. Bellis had the sonnet form in mind. That form I have attempted, however feebly, to imitate in the following paraphrase :

“ Ah, woe is me ! how swiftly beat those wings
 That haste to bear man's dearest hopes away !
 Behold the radiance of the dawning day
 When from the deep the sun all glorious springs ;
 The heavens are splendid with the light he brings,
 And cloudless glows the sky beneath his ray :
 And yet, scarce hath he traversed half his way,
 When some black cloud its pall of darkness flings.

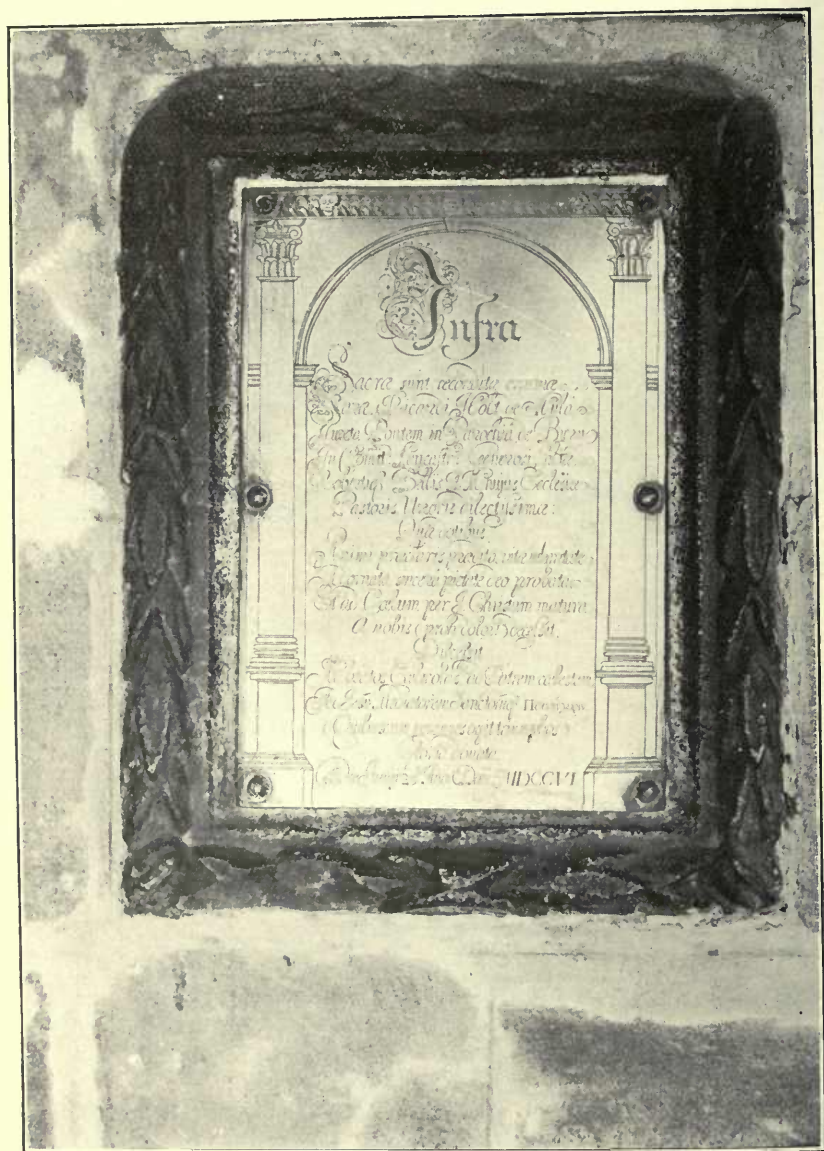
 Such is the piteous story of a child
 Upon whose earliest hours had fortune smiled ;
 Darkling he falls from that too dizzy height,
 And sudden billows whelm that flaming light :
 The sun, ah me ! hath lost his brightest beam,
 With plaintive murmur quench'd in the aimless stream.”

The verses, and also the day of the month, are omitted in *Ormerod*. This brass has the name of the engraver at foot : “ Wm. Antrobus, Sculpt.” Who he was or where he lived I do not know.

We return to the story of Robert Bellis's married life. His wife, you may remember, was Sarah Holt, of Chester. I have not been able to trace the lady's connection with this city; but there is some reason to suppose that her father had not been here very long. The Holts were large landholders in Lancashire. Their ancestral home was known as the "Hall by the Bridge," and was so called from its proximity to a bridge over the River Roach, in the ancient parish of Bury. Parts of this mansion still remain, and two or three of its mullioned Elizabethan windows are to be seen incorporated in what is now known as the "Old Bridge Hall."

Contemporary with Ralph Bellis of Great Barrow, were Peter and Grace Holt of the Bridge Hall, the parents of a large family of nine sons and three daughters. One of these three daughters, named after her mother, Grace, was an ancestress of Lord Clive, the conqueror of India. Her brother Richard, the fifth of Peter Holt's nine sons, was the father of Sarah, wife of the Rev. Robert Bellis.

During their residence at Ince, as I have already mentioned, six children were born to Robert and Sarah Bellis, three sons and three daughters. The boys were named Samuel, John, and Robert. All three grew up, and proceeded in due course to their father's old college at Cambridge. The two elder took the degree of B.A., and Robert that of LL.B. Samuel was ordained at York; John at Lincoln (he became rector of Covenham St. Mary, in Lincolnshire); and Robert, the youngest, is found as curate of Ashton, in Lancashire, at that time in the diocese of Chester. The eldest girl was christened Grace, her maternal grandmother's name, you may remember. The fifth child, Susannah, was



Brass to Mrs. Sarah Bellis

Alec. J. Braid, Photo.

baptized on June 2nd and buried June 4th, 1705. Twelve months later, Mistress Sarah lost her life in giving birth to another little girl. There is something very pathetic in the fact, baldly recorded in our registers, that this little creature received her mother's name of Sarah on the very day on which that mother was laid to rest beneath the chancel of Ince church. If the widowed father hoped that his little Sarah would grow up to be the darling of his old age, a living memorial of his lost wife, he was destined, all too soon, to be reminded of the words he had written over young Samuel Hardware: "*Maxima spes hominum non diuturna manet.*" The baby survived her mother just two months, and was buried on August 29th, 1706.

And now I would invite your attention to the brass which Robert Bellis placed in memory of his deceased wife:

Infra

Sacrae sunt reconditæ exuviae

Saræ, Ricardi Holt de Aulâ

Juxta Pontem in Parochiâ de Bury

In Comit : Lancast : Generosi, filiæ ;

Robertiq' Bellis A. M. hujus Ecclesiæ

Pastoris, Uxoris dilectissimæ :

Quæ dotibus

Animi præclaris prædita, vitæ integritate

Adornata, sincerâ pietate deo probata,

Et ad Cœlum per J. Christum matura,

A nobis (proh dolor !) decessit,

Discessit

Ad beatos Cœlicos, ad Patrem cœlestem,

Ad Jesu Mediatorem, Sanctoruq' Πατήγγυριν,

(Quibuscum perennes agit triumphos)

Gloriâ donata,

Die Junij 25^{to} : Anº : Dom : MDCCVI.

“Beneath

are concealed the sacred outworn raiment of Sarah, daughter of Richard Holt of the Hall by the Bridge in the Parish of Bury in the County of Lancaster, gentleman; and dearly beloved wife of Robert Bellis, M.A., Pastor of this church:

who, endowed

with singular gifts of intellect, adorned with innocence of life, acceptable to God through unalloyed devotion, and ripe for heaven through Jesus Christ, was parted from us—oh, the sorrow of it! She departed to the blessed angels, to the heavenly Father, to Jesus the Mediator, and the general assembly of the Saints, with whom she now enjoys unending triumphs, gifted with glory, on the 25th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1706.”

The fervid—I may say, ecstatic—style of this inscription proves the writer to have been a worthy son of an age which, within the last few years, had seen the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the birth of John Wesley.

I do not think Robert Bellis was a Puritan; indeed, his associations, as we shall presently see, were Royalist. He was capable of writing careless Latin, but he knew his Greek Testament. You would notice the expression “general assembly of the saints.” He introduces here the Greek word *πανήγυριν* from Hebrews xii., 23. Before we part with this second brass, I may remark that, in *Ormerod*, where the inscription is given in full, there are no fewer than ten discrepancies, not including many differences in punctuation and the use of capital letters. The only serious mistake is the date, Jan. 5th instead of June 25th. The copyist has apparently read “*Jany*” for

"*Junij*." He also reads "*Dei*" for "*die*"; "gifted with the glory of God," instead of "gifted with glory on" such a "day."

Our third brass bears the following inscription :

Johanes
Wright Nuper de Elton in Comi-
-tatu Cestriæ Gen : Obijt decimo sep-
-timo Die Januarij
1706 Aº: Ætatis 53.

Hic Dominus, Conjux, Genitor,
— Sociusq : Vicinus,
Clemens, castus, amans, fidus,
— amœnus erat.

"John Wright, late of Elton in the County of Chester, gentleman, died on the 17th day of January, 1706, in the 53rd year of his age."

Ormerod has it the 33rd year; and omits the hexameter and pentameter :

"He was a kind master, a true husband, a loving parent, a staunch friend, and a good neighbour."

The Latin is not quite worthy of Robert Bellis's pen, and the prosody is worse than the grammar; but I cannot suppose that anyone else wrote it. This John Wright is described in the burial register as a "freeholder." A son of his was apprenticed to an iron-monger in Chester.

At this point the Rev. Robert Bellis is a widower with three growing boys, aged respectively thirteen, eleven, and six; and a delicate little girl of eight.

It is scarcely surprising that, after two years of mourning for the mother of his children, he should contract a second marriage. His second wife, however, was considerably his junior. I have not ascertained the date of her birth; but when her parents were married, Mr. Bellis was in his thirteenth year.

Her name was Dorothy Allen, and, like Sarah Holt, she sprang from the parish of Bury, and from an even more interesting family. Her grandfather, John Allen, of Redvales, was a Royalist captain. His son, Richard, was Dorothy's father. Dorothy Allen was the niece, and the namesake, of another Dorothy Allen—sister to Richard—who, by her marriage to Edward Byrom, became the mother of the famous Dr. John Byrom, of Manchester. We, in Ince, are proud to know that there lies buried in our church a cousin of the author of "Christians, awake!" Dr. Byrom, a Royalist, was the author, too, of the well-known epigram:

"God bless the King—I mean our Faith's Defender!
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender!
But who Pretender is, and who is King,
(God bless us all!) is quite another thing!"

In *Harrison Ainsworth's* romance, "The Manchester Rebels," when the heads of the Royalist party in that city are reckoning up the names of those who may be depended upon to support Prince Charlie, someone mentions a certain James Dawson. Dr. John Byrom interposes the remark, "Jemmy Dawson is a young man of very respectable family—in fact, a connection of my own." The connection arises in this way: James Dawson's mother was, like Byrom's mother, an Allen—Elizabeth Allen. She was a sister to the second Mrs. Bellis, who was, therefore, Jemmy Dawson's aunt. When the raid of 1745 ended so disastrously, Jemmy Dawson was among the prisoners; and in 1746 he was hanged, drawn, and quartered on Kennington Common. The girl to whom he was engaged is said to have witnessed his barbarous execution, and to have fallen dead on the spot. All this will be familiar to those who remember *William Shenstone's* melancholy ballad, "Jemmy Dawson."

To go back to Robert Bellis and his young bride, Dorothy Allen. They were married at Bury Parish Church on July 30th, 1708. Exactly eight weeks later, on September 24th, she died, and was buried in Ince church. The last of our four brasses records the sad story, as follows:

Γίνε πρὸς ἄχρῃ
Θανάτῳ, ὅτ' ὀρώσω σοί
τ' ἑφ' ἄνθ' ἑωῆς

Dorothea

R. Bellis A.M. hujus Ecclesiæ

Ministri, charissima Conjux

Oct^{vo} Calend: Octobris Obijt

1708

Quam citò fugit, Rapta lacertis!

Gaudia lecti Curta Jugalis,

(Mortua bino

Mense peracto) Vix ea sensit.

Percipit at nunc Gaudia Cœli

Intemerata.

“ Dorothy

Most dear wife of R. Bellis, M.A., Minister of this church, died Sept. 24th, 1708.

How soon she fled, torn from my arms!
The fleeting joys of wedlock scarce did
she know, Dying at the close of a
twofold honeymoon. But she knows
now the eternal joys of heaven.”

The last lines are in a curious form of verse, dactyls and spondees alternately, which may have been an invention of Robert Bellis's own.

Ormerod, as usual, omits the verses, but gives the rest of the inscription with substantial accuracy.

Five more years pass away. The eldest boy, Samuel, is at College; John is nearly eighteen; Grace is fifteen, Robert thirteen. Robert Bellis, in 1713, takes to himself a third wife, Margaret Wilbraham, of Chester. I have

not been able as yet to trace her origin. If she had children there is no record of the fact at Ince.

In 1717, Grace, the one surviving daughter, passes away in her twentieth year. In May 1721 the third wife followed her two predecessors to the grave, after eight years of married life. In the following August Robert Bellis buried his aged father, John Bellis, now in his eighty-ninth year. This old man had been a person of some standing at Great Barrow in his time. He was constable and an overseer of the poor there in 1662. In Barrow church his name is still to be seen painted upon a board, which records the fact that, in 1711, he gave a benefaction of £5 to the poor of that parish. Possibly this was a farewell gift, as he went to spend his declining years with his son. To Ince church he bequeathed a richly carved chair; one of our most precious belongings today. The principal carving upon it has been said to represent the "Adoration of the Magi." It is so described, for example, in the last edition of *Sir Stephen Glynne's* "Notes on Cheshire Churches." But its real title should obviously be the "Nativity." The pictured group—the Virgin Mary with the Holy Child; St. Joseph; the ox and the ass; the crib; together with three tiny figures which may represent the wise men, but are more probably angels, and in either case quite subordinate—this group is contained within a scallop shell, in which is also inscribed the date 1634. Beneath all this are the initials "I.B.," flanked by two shields, one of which bears a cross crosslet, and the other a capricorn—in ordinary parlance, the Welsh goat. I am informed that these are not proper heraldic bearings, but indicate the fact that "I.B." was of Welsh extraction. The sculptured "Nativity," with the date



"Nativity" Chair

Alec. J. Bruid, Photo.

immediately beneath it, led me to suppose that "I.B.," whoever he was, was born in 1634. An examination of the Barrow registers revealed the fact that John Bellis was baptized in that very year; and the inference is irresistible. It would be an astonishing coincidence if the chair had really belonged to someone else. I have sometimes wondered whether it could have been a bardic chair. "Like father, like son"; and we have seen enough of Robert Bellis to know that he was, in his way, a poet.

Of the spiritual side of Robert Bellis's character he has left us touching records in the inscriptions we have been studying.

His political leanings may, I think, be gathered from his friendship with Vale Royal, and from his marriage with Dorothy Allen.

There is an interesting tradition in the village of Ince to this day in reference to a family, still dwelling in our midst, of the name of White. It is said that they are descended from an escaped prisoner of war; one, in fact, of the crowd of prisoners who were conveyed in such numbers from Preston to Chester Castle. The story is that this man eluded his captors at Horn's Mill, and wandered to Ince, in which remote spot discovery was of course impossible. If the story is true,² the escaped prisoner would find a sympathizer—perhaps a helper—in the Royalist minister at Ince.

Robert Bellis died in 1724; and was buried on May 3rd. Our burial register records that he was fifty-five years of age, and that he had "prached about

² The name makes its first appearance in our Registers in 1731, when Matthew White married Elizabeth Newal, December 28th.

30 yeres." Fifty-five is not a patriarchal age; but I can imagine Mr. Bellis to have been an old and broken man. His humble parsonage had seen seven funerals pass from its doors during his incumbency. I spoke of him as a dreamy boy. It is, perhaps, in keeping with that character that he died intestate. Letters of administration were granted to his representative; but the document is no longer to be found, I regret to say, in the keeping of the Probate Registry, though it is mentioned in the Index of Wills. He had, perhaps, acquired some little holding in the parish of Ince; and his family may have fallen into poverty.

In the overseers' accounts for the year 1750, I find the entry—

"Unpay'd for Bellis's Lays . . . £1 7 1"

And so the name finally disappears from our annals.

Shortly before the death of Robert Bellis, the Cholmondeleys sold their Ince property to George Wynne, Esq. It was mentioned at the last meeting of this Society that nearly all the Flintshire and Denbighshire families were strong Jacobites, the only prominent Hanoverian family being that of Sir George Wynne, who built Leeswood Hall, and the beautiful gates there. Created a baronet in 1731, Sir George Wynne had then been eight years in possession of the Ince estate. In the interim had appeared in *Buck's* "Antiquities," a quaint drawing dated 1727, with which, no doubt, many of us are familiar. It is reproduced in *Ormerod*, and represents the Abbot's Grange, at Ince, though the engraver does not venture to describe it so fully; he only calls it a "Monastic Ruin, near Chester." The engraving is dedicated to "Geo. Wynne, Esq., owner of the remains."

In the chancel of Ince church there hangs a brass candelabrum, with the following somewhat puzzling³ inscription :

“The Gift of Sir Geo: Winne, Bart., late Lord of this Manner of Ince, Anno 1724.”

This ornament is not to be reckoned among the brasses alluded to in the title of this paper; but, bearing, as it does, the year of the minister's decease, the mention of it seems to round off and complete the story of Robert Bellis and his times.

[I am indebted to Mrs. Park-Yates for permission to examine the Grange, and for much valuable information concerning her predecessors in the Manor of Ince; to Mr. G. W. Haswell, who pointed out many interesting features connected with the Grange; to Mr. C. T. Kirtland, B.A., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, for searching the Bodleian records; to Mr. J. H. E. Bennett, for notes about apprentices; to Dr. Peile, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, for information concerning Robert Bellis and his three sons; to Mr. W. Hewitson, of the *Bury Times*, who is my authority for all that is stated about the Old Bridge Hall and the families of Holt and Allen; to Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine, for particulars from “Bishop Stratford's Visitation of 1691”; to the Rev. H. S. Cowan, for allowing me to search the registers at Great Barrow; and to the Rev. J. H. Toogood, for searching the Plemstall registers].

³ To say nothing of the spelling, Mr. Wynne acquired the manor in January, 1723 (N.S.). He was not Sir George until 1731, and not “late lord” until his death, c. 1770.



St. Plegmund; and his connection with Cheshire

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A., F.S.A.,

ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(*Read 16th February, 1909*)

This Paper contains most of the Paper read before the Society by the late Judge Wynne Ffoulkes in 1860, his Paper having been placed at the disposal of the Archdeacon by the Rev. P. J. B. Ffoulkes.



ON November 11th, 1907, an interesting ceremony took place at Plemstall, when an ornamental stone curbing and protection round St. Plegmund's Well, erected at the expense of Mr. Osborne Aldis, was dedicated by myself.

The ceremony at the Well was preceded by a short service in the Church, when I gave an address on St. Plegmund, and the lessons to be learnt from his life. In the course of that address, I expressed my regret that a Paper read before the Society by the late Judge Wynne Ffoulkes, had not been printed *in extenso* in our Journal, and that we only had in our records a brief summary of it.

That expression of my own opinion (in which I am sure all our members will agree) has borne good fruit, for the Rev. P. J. B. Ffoulkes has sent to me

his father's Paper ; and this, with some omissions and additions, I shall proceed to give you in the very words of the author, except when otherwise indicated.

“ Among the early kings who ruled in this country, there is none who is more justly entitled to the appellation of ‘Great’ than Alfred. Endued with a great and enquiring mind, with brilliant talents, with singular courage and energy, and, at the same time, surpassing in physical activity, he seems to have been an instrument raised up by Divine wisdom to save this country from being swallowed up by the vortex of Danish rapacity and devastation in which she was helplessly eddying round. England's history at this period is Alfred's biography ; and it is impossible to overestimate the influence which his reign had on the destinies of this country. But if it is just and right to pay this passing homage to the memory of this truly great man, we may fairly attribute some share of his success to those instruments which it was his wisdom to make choice of to carry out his designs.

“ Succeeding to his brother, Ethelred, about the year 872, Alfred found his kingdom, and indeed the whole country, wasted ; the religious houses razed to the ground ; Episcopal Sees desolated ; the people broken in spirit, almost destitute of religious teachers, and fast relapsing into a condition of ignorance and barbarism.

“ The keen mind of the King soon perceived that the prime remedy for these evils was to revive learning and religion. For this purpose he assembled around him at his Court all those who were eminent, either at home or abroad, for their piety and learning.

Among them history has handed down to us, as most conspicuous, the names of the following :

Johannes Scotus, an Irishman, the friend and guest of Charles the Bald of France, Alfred's preceptor in languages, and afterwards professor in the Monastery of Malmesbury.

Grimbald, another foreigner, a master of church music, and of exemplary piety (with whom the King had made acquaintance in his youth when on his way to Rome), and subsequently Abbot of Winchester.

Asser, a native, the biographer of Alfred, and, as is said, Archbishop of St. David's.

Werefrid, *Dunwulf*, *Walsey*, and *Werebert*, and last, though the first summoned by the King, *Plegmund*, the subject of our paper.

"He was born in Mercia, a kingdom extending from the borders of Wales to the eastern shores of England, and embracing Cheshire and all the midland counties; but we are not able to fix the locality of his birth-place. Of his early training we know nothing; but it is most probable that he led a monastic life in his earliest years. When summoned to the Court of Alfred, he was living as a hermit at a place called by the inhabitants Plegmunshaw. It is possible that he was led to adopt this life after the destruction of religious houses by the Danes."

Here I venture to interpose a few words of my own. The hermit, we must remember, as *Dean Hook* tells us, was not a solitary like the anchorite. The latter never quitted his cell, but was an absolute recluse. The hermit, on the other hand, was a more independent

character. He moved about as occasion demanded. If he had a settled abode or cell, he would go to places of public resort near at hand, and by his preaching seek to benefit the wayfarers. We can thus imagine St. Plegmund, coming in from the place where he had established himself on an isle of Chester, visiting the City, perhaps taking up his position at one or other of its gates (for it was surrounded with its Roman Walls), and instructing out of his laboriously acquired learning those who were willing to pause and listen to his fervid discourse. The anxious enquirer might return with him to his island home, and after further instruction as a catechumen, might receive the grace of Holy Baptism at the very Well which now bears his name.

How and where Plegmund acquired his learning we cannot say. His opportunities would be scanty, as compared with ours; and the books or manuscripts within his reach could not have been very many. It has been confidently suggested that one of his treasures, next to the Bible, would be *Boethius* "*De Consolatione Philosophiæ*." That he acquired a considerable reputation for learning we may be quite certain, or the King would not have sent for him.

To return to the Judge's Paper:

"The very fact that he was the first of the chosen instruments of Alfred for the reformation and renovation of the State, at once stamps him as a man of no ordinary character; and a more convincing proof of this is furnished by his appointment as Tutor or Preceptor to the King. He was one of four whom the King appointed to read books to him, night and day, when he had leisure. Wherefore the King possessed

a knowledge of every book, though unable to read them himself; and who shall say how much we are *even now* indebted to the wise counsels and sound judgment and teaching of Plegmund, for some of the liberties and privileges with which we, above all other nations, are blessed. He is said to have been a man pre-eminent for his piety. Asser says he was a venerable man, endowed with wisdom, a profound scholar and theologian. Some idea of the esteem in which he was held by King Alfred may be gathered from his always forming one of the council or committee for the promotion of learning and religion.

“In one of Alfred’s Charters, he and Grimbold are designated ‘*carissimi mei*,’ ‘my most beloved,’ an expression which, however in these days it may savour of diplomatic formality and courtesy, when used by such a Monarch as Alfred, in a simpler age, had a more real significance, and spoke out the gratitude and yearnings of the royal heart. Of his life and character at the Court of Alfred, before his promotion to the See of Canterbury, we can glean no more.”

There is, in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, a copy, the oldest in existence, of the “Saxon Chronicle,” said to have been transcribed by Plegmund, for which assertion there is internal evidence of an indirect nature. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this was one of the works performed by Plegmund at this period.

“In 890, the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant for two years, was offered to Grimbold; and, being declined by him, was then offered by the King to Plegmund, and accepted by him. It is remarkable that he does not seem to have held any office or

professorship at the School of Oxford, which Alfred founded, and where his contemporaries, St. Neot and Grimbald, were Professors of Divinity; and Asser, of grammar and rhetoric. It may be, however, that the personal regard of the King induced him to retain him close to himself, until the opportunity offered of his exaltation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. His appointment appears to have given the greatest satisfaction, for, in the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' it is said that 'he was chosen of God and of all the people.' He went to Rome in 890 to be consecrated by Pope Formosus, who presented him with the Pall, and invested him with full Metropolitcal authority. From that time till 895 we hear nothing of him. He may have stayed at Rome during that period. In 895 we find his signature to a grant to the church by the King, which Alfred declares he makes by the counsel of his most beloved Plegmund the Archbishop and Grimbald the Priest. In the same year, Plegmund himself granted a piece of land to the Church, near the river Romney, in Kent."

We have no doubt that Plegmund cordially seconded the King in his endeavours to reform the Church of England, to encourage the clergy in their duties, and to establish a learned priesthood. In conjunction, they published "The Pastoral Care" of St. Gregory, a copy of which was sent to every English Bishop, with a noteworthy preface by the King, in which the Sovereign acknowledged what he had "learned of Plegmund my Archbishop, and of Asser my Bishop, and of Grimbald my Presbyter, and of John my Presbyter." It is interesting to know that the copy addressed to Plegmund is still preserved, as well as those addressed to the Bishops of Worcester and of Sherborne.

"In 899 the King appears to have consulted Plegmund as to the mode of restoring the City of London, which had probably suffered from the ravages of the Danes. In the following year his royal pupil and patron died; and he was called upon to consecrate his son, Edward, as his successor."

I pass over with this short summary some references to Plegmund's co-operation with the King in the building and endowment of a Monastery at Winchester, a favoured residence of Royalty. There are various documents and charters, referring to this and other matters connected with that Diocese, from which it would appear that a rearrangement of it, by creating two divisions, may have taken place then. Evidence is also given in them of the care which was taken to restore the property of the Church which had been wrested from it; and also to preserve it from future alienation.

An interesting account was given in the original Paper of the "Bull" or Decree attributed to Pope Formosus, and addressed to the Church of England. The reasons assigned for the threat with which it concluded, were mainly the delay in filling up vacant Sees, and the dispute as to which Bishop should occupy the position of Primate. Some doubt has been thrown by *Collier* and other ecclesiastical historians, on the genuineness of this document on chronological grounds. It may, of course, be attributed to a wrong Pope. If it is genuine, it is clear that it was issued during the episcopate of Plegmund, from the following extract: "It is clear that in the city of Dorobernia (or Canterberie) is the metropolitan and

first See of the realm of the Angles, over which our venerable brother Pleigmund is now decreed to preside, and in no manner do we permit the dignity of that See to be lessened." More follows to the same effect; and the document concludes with: "threatening anathemas and excommunications to all who should resist or disobey the authority of that See."

Plegmund paid a second visit to Rome. There is some doubt as to the date and the reason of this. It has been assigned to the close of 908; and *Dr. Hook* says it was necessitated by Pope Stephen having annulled the acts and ordinations of Formosus, owing to some irregularities and indiscretions on his part. If *Dr. Hook's* view is correct, as also his statement that Plegmund submitted to the questionable ceremony of re-consecration, the assigned date cannot be correct, for in 905, at a Synod held at Ravenna, the ordinations of Formosus, on which doubts had been cast, were confirmed.

It is also stated that Plegmund's second visit to Rome was occasioned by his taking the alms of the King and people to the Pope; and that he brought back with him the relics of the Martyr Blasius, for which he had given a large price, and placed them in the Church of Christ at Canterbury. It is interesting to note that Blasius was the Patron Saint of wool-combers; and that his name appears in our Calendar on February 3rd, on which day our own S. Werburgh used to be commemorated. One of my early recollections, of more than fifty years ago, is that of seeing, and attempting to copy, a piece of stained glass on which his likeness appeared, in an old York-

shire farmhouse or hall. In Yorkshire, the seat of the wool industry, he was specially venerated, and various customs in connection with the day were observed at Bradford and other places.

“King Edward and Archbishop Plegmund summoned a council in the province of the West Saxons, and determined that that region should be divided into five bishoprics instead of two, Winchester and Sherborne. In the year 909, in one and the same day, the Archbishop consecrated seven Bishops. They are said to have been : *Fridestan*, Bishop of Winchester ; *Werestan*, of Sherburn ; *Kenulph*, of Dorchester ; *Beornock*, of Selsea ; *Athelm*, of Wells ; *Eadulph*, of Kirton or Crediton ; and *Athelstan*, of Padstow. The two latter represent an extension of the jurisdiction of Canterbury to a district which had not previously accepted it. This event was one of the most distinguishing acts of Plegmund’s episcopacy.”

Considerable attention has been brought to it at the present time, as it is proposed,¹ both at Wells and at Crediton, to celebrate the millenary of it. The following cutting, from a recent newspaper, bears upon this point :

“THE MILLENNARY OF CREDITON.—Considerable interest is being taken in the movement for commemorating next June the millenary of the consecration of the first Bishop of the ancient See of Crediton. The Bishop of Bristol has promised to preach ; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose intention it is to be present, is taking the keenest interest in the event. The Bishops of Exeter, Crediton, and Marlborough, will also attend ; and the help of the Exeter

¹ Since these words were spoken the commemorations have been held, and with marked success.

Cathedral choir has been offered by the Bishop of Marlborough. Invitations will be sent to the representatives of the six other Sees whose Bishops were also consecrated by Archbishop Plegmund in 909, at Canterbury, on the same day as the first Bishop of Crediton. Among these will be the Bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Salisbury."

We can hardly suppose that any resident of Plemstall, from which place Plegmund was summoned by King Alfred, will be present at this celebration.

Whether he ever visited the scene of his early labours here, it is impossible to say; but the following fancied description of the foundation of S. John's, Chester, by the late Mr. Thomas Hughes, is not without interest:

"First there were Etheired and Ethelfleda, the joint founders; near them might stand their royal ward Athelstan, the Etheling, heir to his father's throne. Prominent in the group we may suppose there would be Plegmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a native of Mercia, and but a few years before a modest recluse at the hermitage in that island of Chester."

Whether this was so or not we cannot say; but that the spot, whether revisited or not, had a grateful corner in the heart of the Archbishop, we cannot doubt.

In 910, Plegmund's name appears in several Charters; after this we lose all trace of him, though he seems to have filled the See of Canterbury till 914. On the 23rd of July in that year he died, and was buried in his Cathedral at Canterbury.

We can have no doubt that, in his conduct of the Archiepiscopal office, Plegmund fully justified the choice of the King and the people; and that he consistently carried out the plans of Alfred, and laboured diligently to secure for the Church a learned Ministry.

"*Collier* speaks of him as a man of extraordinary learning for his time; whilst an early Chronicler sums up his career as Archbishop in few but pregnant words: 'At this time Plegmund ruled the Church of Christ as Archbishop faithfully, and with a glorious reign: a man to be revered, who shone with the fruits of wisdom, and was endued with these double pillars of strength, justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude.'"

We have no portrait or likeness of Plegmund. "There are, however" (writes *Dr. Hook*, in a letter to Judge Wynne Ffoulkes), "several coins in existence of Plegmund; and as the Archbishops travelled with their moneyers, who went with them to convert their plate into coin as their needs required, one is not surprised at the discovery of Archiepiscopal coins in various parts of the country. On the Coins of Plegmund his portrait does not appear. The obverse has his name and his title, except in one instance, where the name of the Mint follows that of the Archbishop. The reverses have invariably the moneyer's name." From a Paper by *Mr. Hartwright*, supplied to the late Mr. Hughes, the names of these moneyers were:

ÆTHELVLF, EICMVND, ENSAM,
SIGENHEIM.

The letters "M O," for Monetarius, generally follow the name. In one instance we have "N O R," which may be a blunder, and be intended for "M O."

In his Paper, Judge Wynne Ffoulkes was at some pains to show that Plegmund was connected with Plemstall; and that his cell as a hermit must have been there. For this purpose he brings forward some interesting historical facts concerning the Church and

parish. He instances the various names by which the place was known at different times, as Plemondstowe, Plegmundshaw, and Plegmondestowe. There is no need at the present day to elaborate this point, for it is accepted as without question.

That eminent historian, our late Bishop, *Dr. Stubbs*, speaking before our Society in 1886, said: "In Plemondstall or Plemstall you have the stall or habitation of Plegmund, who has been identified with an Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of King Alfred." But though there can be no doubt of this, we cannot perhaps locate exactly the spot where his Cell was placed. The whole character of the country has changed materially since that remote period. Then it was spoken of as "an island of Chester"; but a careful study of the maps, as also of the nature of the ground, shows that the site of the present Church was once a river or fen island.

A situation of this character would afford protection. *Dr. Hook*, in the letter already quoted, says:

"We should not expect a Church to retain his name, for he went into Cheshire as a Hermit, a Solitary; whereas those who established Churches for safety's sake established a community of Clergy, whether they were seculars or not; these establishments were generally called Monasteries or Minsters. But what does strike one as extraordinary, is that he should have chosen Cheshire for his place of retreat, Cheshire being at that time one of the most disturbed districts of the country. It is not improbable that the hermit acted also as a Missionary."

Plegmundshaw may therefore be a corruption of Plegmundsholme, which would mean "the fenny island of Plegmund," and so be the original name of the place. It may be, therefore, that the Cell was some-

where on the ground now occupied by the Church, and, if so, in close proximity to the Well which bears his name.

I ought to give you here, in his own words, some particulars from the Judge's Paper :

"Between the inroads of savage invaders on the one hand, and the repeated inundations of the sea on the other, it is not surprising if all tradition of the sight of Plegmund's Cell has perished. 'I think, however, I should not omit to notice a passage in Henry IIIrd's Charter, wherein the King confirms to the Abbot of Shrewsbury (and that Abbey had the Advowson of Plemstall) the grant by Robert the bailiff of Chester 'of a hermit's dwelling in the wood of Sutton'; and as this immediately follows the grants in Donham and Trochford, and is made by an official of this City, Sutton is most probably Guilden Sutton, the parish next adjoining Plemstall on the west. Whether this wood extended beyond the bounds of the township, or whether the boundaries of Plemstall and Sutton have always been the same as they now are, we cannot now determine; but at any rate, here is a coincidence which should not be passed over."

It is more than possible that the name, "the wood of Sutton," might in those times cover a large area, and include the site of the Church; and thus, that the supposition that the Cell of Plegmund was originally there is not by any means a far-fetched one. There was (and is) no township of Plemstall, so that it would be natural for the name of the wood to be derived from an adjoining one.

Supposing then that the Cell was on the site of the Church, or close to it, it is not unreasonable to con-



S. Plegmund's Well, or The Christening Well

E. G. Ballard, Photo.

clude that the Well, round which the curbing has recently been put, is really S. Plegmund's Well; and that it was used by him for ordinary purposes; and also that he may there have baptized converts, when he had instructed them as catechumens.

We have instances elsewhere of Wells designated by the name of the saint or holy man who formerly had his abode near them. Thus, we have S. Chad's Well, near Lichfield, of which a description is given by *Leland*, in his "Itinerary" of the date of 1538. Such Wells were often termed holy Wells, and we can call to mind several such; whilst, as in the neighbouring town in the Principality, it sometimes gave the name to the place. Whether Plegmund's Well was, in his lifetime or subsequently, counted a *holy well* it is impossible to say. As it was in early times not easily accessible, it is probable that it was not; and this might account for the name of S. Plegmund not being invariably attached to it. I am told that there is a record, in a very early deed (of the time of Edward VI.), of land being purchased near St. Plegmund's Well. This would seem to show that the tradition is an ancient one.

But for many generations the water from the Well has been used for Holy Baptism; and there are entries in the Churchwardens' accounts, running back over 130 years, showing that an annual payment was made for cleaning the Well, which is called the "Church Well," or the "Christening Well." It is interesting to note that, in the payments to the Clerk, the two Sacraments are linked together, as thus: "The Clerk for Bread for Sacrament and for cleaning the Well, 2/-." Another year the payment was 1/9; and another

2/4. The regularity of these payments may be taken as a sufficient proof of the identity of the Well through all those years, as any change would undoubtedly have been noted.

Doubt has recently been cast upon this by an anonymous correspondent in our local newspaper. The assertion that this is not St. Plegmund's Well or the Church Well, is founded upon an early recollection of its condition when the writer was a boy; how many years ago he does not say. Against that you have the evidence of the parish Clerk, responsible for the care of the Well, who, with his father-in-law, carries the history back *at least* sixty years. It is incredible that the Well should have been changed without the knowledge of those really in charge of it. Its surroundings, and therefore outward appearance, have been altered; for the Churchwardens' Accounts make mention of the widening of the road near it, which would bring the Well nearer to the road, and do away with the foot-path which led to it.

We may rest content, therefore, with believing that this is Plegmund's Well; that it may have been used by him for Christian Baptism; and that for many generations the water from it has been used for a like purpose, the font being filled from it. This is a justification for the Latin couplet inscribed on the Stone which Mr. Aldis has placed there:

“Hic fons Plegmundi functus baptismatis usu
Regnante Alfredo, tunc hodieque solet.”

I have ventured to give the meaning of this in the following lines:

“Here, as in days when Alfred erst was King,
Baptismal water flows from Plegmund's spring.”

I have purposely left untouched the general subject of holy wells, and the customs which grew up around them, because I think it requires and deserves separate treatment; and I hope at some future day it may receive it from some member of our Society.

It is not impossible that the ceremony of Well-dressing may be revived in connection with St. Plegmund's Well, on July 23rd, the day of his death. If this should be done, it will not only prove an interesting village festival, but also have the result of perpetuating the memory of the Archbishop, and his close association with Plemstall and the neighbourhood.





The conquest of Britain by the Angles ; in the light of Military Science

BY MAJOR P. T. GODSAL

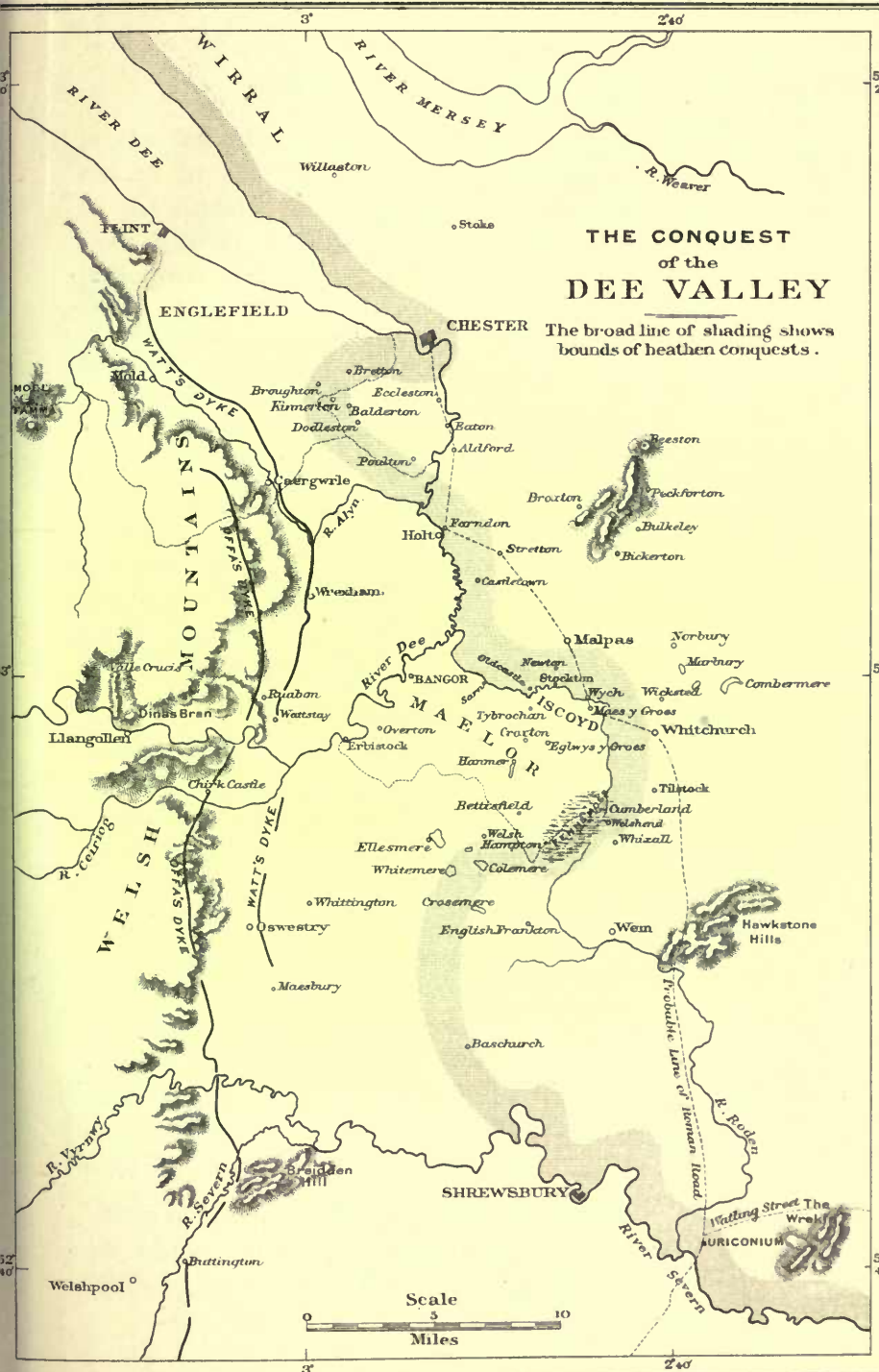
(Read 16th March, 1909)

IT is a common remark that there is such a lack of evidence with regard to the conquest of Britain by the Angles, that it is hopeless to attempt to explain it. This is, of course, true as regards written records; but if we total up all the evidence, it may be said, without much fear of contradiction, that no conquest has left such an enormous amount, only it wants co-ordinating and explaining.

The late Professor Maitland used a splendid metaphor when he spoke of the Great Palimpsest of the Map of England. When you have rubbed off the writings of later ages, you find the bold characters in which our illiterate forefathers wrote their history on the face of the country. These I claim to have deciphered, and I propose to read to you the plain tale they tell.

I hope to prove to you that all the evidence, whether it consists of *Written Records*, *Vestiges*, or *Results*, is best co-ordinated by military science.

I do not come before you with any high credentials; and my claims to your attention may be summed up





in the fact that I appear to have been the first to realize, in connection with the conquest of Britain by the Angles, the living truth of a truism, namely, that military operations are governed by military principles.

I served for seventeen years as Adjutant at Eton College, and so I came to know the Thames Valley well. About fifteen years ago my attention was drawn to the fact that I was living amongst the vestiges of a mighty conquest, of which the name "Eton" was an item. As I studied these, I realized that every particle of evidence indicated that the course of that conquest had been up-stream; it was evident, therefore, that London must have been taken first. It then struck me that the invaders must have acted very much as soldiers would have expected them to have done.

Thus came to my mind the idea of frankly adopting military principles as guides to the conquest. In other words, I came to a definite decision to do completely and deliberately, and of conscious set purpose, what I had been evidently doing hitherto partially and unconsciously; for there can be no doubt that, even before this moment arrived, my investigations had been unconsciously directed by strategic values. But from a certain moment, about fifteen years ago, I decided definitely to follow military principles, whithersoever they might lead me, in studying the greatest and completest and most result-producing conquest the world has ever seen.

Now what I did then, I ask my audience to do now, once and forever, and with no hesitation or afterthoughts, for by doing so you will, in studying

this question, give up mere empiricism, and adopt science.

I ask you to venture beyond meticulous inductions from a few bald statements of ignorant writers, and from hosts of petty facts that are, as a rule, judged by the standards of much later periods, and when the nation had settled down for about 200 years; and trust to bold deductions from the established principles of one of the best known sciences, namely, those of war and conquest.

Science is knowledge gained by systematic observation co-ordinated, arranged, and systematized, and the prosecution of truth as thus known.

How can you ever hope to co-ordinate, arrange, and systematize the countless facts of the invasion and conquest of Britain by the Angles, otherwise than by means of the principles of warfare by sea and land? Certainly you can never do so if you altogether ignore those principles as has been done universally in the past.

A quotation from the writings of a former Bishop of Chester, the great historian *Bishop Stubbs*, conveys a necessary warning. He says as follows:

"Among the first truths which the historical student, or indeed any scientific scholar, learns to recognize, this is perhaps the most important, that no theory or principle works in isolation. The most logical conclusions from the truest principle are practically false, unless in drawing them allowance is made for the counter-working of other principles equally true in theory, and equally dependent for practical truth on co-ordination with the first."¹

¹ *Stubbs*, "Constitutional History," Vol. I., chap. II., sec. 19,

I fully yield to this wise aphorism of *Bishop Stubbs*, "that no theory or principle works in isolation"; but yet I strongly maintain that, in the process of an invasion resulting in permanent conquest, the principles of war must have been the dominant ones, and the rest subordinate.

We all know how sternly the professors of other sciences are apt to rebuke the luckless investigator who offends against the laws of their particular science. Take Etymology for instance. Supposing a student of history offends against the laws of Etymology, with what sternness does your professor of that science draw attention to the infringement of its sacred laws, and probably hints that the culprit had better go back to school.

I maintain that the laws of the science of War are quite as stern as those of Etymology, and quite as regular and certain in their action; and that the historian who propagates military fallacies is just as much a dunce as if he displayed ignorance of any other of the sciences, upon a knowledge of which his qualifications as a historian depend.

I claim that it is eminently sane and scientific to submit questions raised by the conquest of Britain to the test of military science, with the result that military fallacies, however venerable, should be dropped at once and for ever.

Since the written records of the invasion are so meagre, it is quite evident that they must be pieced together by conjectures; but such conjectures must be in harmony with military science, and they should explain the vestiges as well as the written records.

I constantly meet with the remark: "Oh, I am an agnostic in these matters, nothing is known, and nothing more can be learned about them." But, I find that this is really only a pompous way of saying that the objector accepts a certain vague, and just as conjectural version of the conquest, because it is orthodox and fashionable, and is afraid to admit that it is wrong, lest he should find himself in the position of having to learn his history afresh.

It should be remembered that Columbus' ship was full of mutinous agnostics the day before he hove in sight of the West Indies.

It is very difficult to deal with the version of the conquest that has come to be accepted as orthodox, as it is so vague and impalpable; and if there is anything definite, it is probably guarded by a footnote or some remark on another page. I think, however, that *Green's* "Making of England" may be taken as typical of it; and it is recommended to students at the Universities.

This book, as regards the earlier stages of the conquest, is nothing but a picturesque patch-work, stitched together with guesses. Many of these guesses are, doubtless, true, and in harmony with military principles, but they vary in degrees of probability, and some are the most absurd fallacies ever accepted as a working version of history.

I should like to say here that I yield to no one in love for *Green's* memory and admiration for his work; but I feel sure that if *Green* were living, he would be the first to admit that his book wants revising.

What I admire about *Green* (and have tried to imitate) is that, he was the first to make a bold synthesis of the evidences of the conquest. Whilst himself struggling with death, *Green* boldly threw together all the records, facts, fancies, and legends, he could collect about the conquest, and joining them together by empirical inductions, and even wild guesses, he produced an objective whole that the student could study.

I have ventured to try and follow *Green's* example by making a synthesis of the evidences of the conquest. In doing so, I have had the advantage of being able to adopt all *Green's* inductions that are manifestly sound; and above all, for *Green's* guesses I have been able to substitute deductions from sound principles. But you may like to have some instances of the wild guesses that pass for history. *Green* tells us, that after the battle of Crayford, Ambrosius drove Hengist back to Thanet, and by basing himself on Fort Richborough, "he prisoned Hengist in his island lair";² and he repeats the statement later.

I do not make much of this, as it can be looked upon as little more than a rhetorical flourish. No one could seriously suppose that you could imprison an enemy, who had command of the sea, in an island. But the military fallacies that lead up to this absurd conclusion, are really almost more absurd. *Green* supposes that the fortresses of Richborough and Reculver could hold out for more than eight years without being relieved. But, even granting this as possible, what are we to think of Ambrosius stationing his army near Thanet, when his capital must have been open

² "The Making of England," p. 38.

to attack at any moment. But need I waste time on such fallacies. I can give you many more.

Please remember that I am not striking at *Green*, but at those who lazily shelter themselves under his great name, instead of emulating his spirit. It is the letter of *Green's* writings that kills; his spirit of bold surmise gives life, if directed on sound principles.

Since it may seem presumptuous on my part to say anything against such a work as *Green's* "Making of England," which is largely recommended to students at Oxford and Cambridge, I should like to show that *Green's* methods have already been trenchantly criticised by our greatest living authority on early English history. In an article in the "English Historical Review," No. LXVIII., October 1902, page 626, *Mr. W. H. Stevenson* says as follows:

"Green, with his love of the picturesque, has greedily seized upon this theory (Dr. Guest's) of impassable woodland belts, and he has found a host of imitators. It has become common and indeed irksome to read how the English invader was kept at bay by a belt of woodland, until he finally did what he apparently might have done earlier—that is, he 'dashes through the brake' and surprises the too-confiding Briton."

Well, I began to tell you how I came to study the vestiges of the conquest in the Thames Valley. It may interest you to hear what course my preliminary investigations took after deciding to follow the guidance of military principles. The first thing I realized was the necessity of a leader. Unless there was a leader with absolute authority in the direction of military matters, it was evident I should have to give up my theory.

I must confess that my knowledge of history was so slight that the name of the evident leader did not suggest itself to me for some days, if not weeks. I admit that when I looked up my history and found Ælla the first Bretwalda, I did remember about him; but I did not know what I soon discovered to my intense delight, that the evidence of *Bede*, as to Ælla having had the sole leadership of all the invaders south of the Humber, was so very plain and precise and unsophisticated.

Having discovered the leader, I sat down to write my book; little thinking that I had ten years more work before me.

The necessity for accurate thinking, which is quickly forced upon an investigator by his having to make written statements, made me realize that a leader was useless in directing anything more than a mere raid, unless there was some sort of organization by means of which he could make his authority felt.

I soon saw that the only organization possible under the circumstances, must have been the national organization of the Angles. To briefly sum up the work of seven or eight years, I found that my surmise was correct, and that *Tacitus* was one of my chief witnesses to the fact; and, moreover, the position of the Jutes and Saxons, with reference to the Angles, was explained.

I must hasten on, as I wish to conclude this lecture with the taking of Chester by Æthelfrith (about the year A.D. 613)—the taking of Chester was the consummation of the conquests made by the heathen English—and so, near Chester, we are, to this day,

able to recognize the vast difference between conquests by the heathen English and their conquests after they had been converted to Christianity.

We can thus realize the awful completeness of the earlier conquests.

But more about Chester later on. To explain the conquest, we must begin at the beginning; namely, with the landing of Hengist and Horsa at Thanet. But some preliminary remarks are necessary. The peculiar characteristics of the Angle conquest were that :

- (1) Colonization went hand-in-hand with conquest; in fact, the invaders conquered by colonizing.
- (2) They exterminated the Britons.
- (3) They declined to occupy their towns, but destroyed them.

Compare this conquest with the conquests by the other (so-called) barbarian nations. The Goths, Franks, Vandals, and Lombards. Those invasions were wonderful, and must have demanded considerable organization and subordination to the will of a leader.

To be brief I will put the difference between the conquest by the Angles, and say a conquest by the Goths, in a nutshell. A conquest by the Goths, is to the conquest by the Angles, as building an ox waggon and trekking with it from, say the Danube, by well-known routes to Rome, is to building a ship and sailing it, with all your goods and family on board, past uncharted and unlighted coasts from Hamburg to London. So much for the actual invasions, but when we come to compare the results and their per-

manence, all the other conquests, by which the Roman Empire was broken up, fade into insignificance compared with that of Britain by the Angles.

We have only to ask, where are the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, and the Lombards? Possibly expert ethnologists may give you a vague answer.

On the other hand, where are the English? Need I answer that question; what part of the world can you name where the influence of Englishmen, and of the institutions they established by means of the conquest of Britain, is not felt?

The difficulties of carrying out a complete conquest on such terms must have been enormous. The difficulties of marine transportation of a whole nation must, of themselves, have demanded great organization and preparation, but to carry these out in the face of an enemy exasperated by being driven from his homes, at the same time that the invaders always settled in rural settlements and neglected altogether the great walled towns which they took and destroyed; such a conquest must have been effected in a masterly manner in the initial stages. No isolated war-bands could have effected such an invasion; in fact the difficulties are such that only one scheme seems to have been at all feasible. Briefly stated, that scheme was to paralyze Britain by taking its strategic and commercial centre, "London"; and then to hold the water-way of the Thames until every stronghold south of it had been destroyed, and direct communication with the continent had been cut off.

To carry out such a scheme successfully there must have been (as I said before) a leader and an organiza-

tion, and I find those in *Ælla* the first *Bretwalda*, and in the national system of the Angles. It is manifest that I cannot attempt to give my reasons in one lecture, and I must refer you to my book, "The Storming of London and the Thames Valley Campaign," and even in that book I have not been able to deal fully with all the questions raised; and I hope some day to publish a second, dealing mainly with the pre-conquest nationhood of the Angles; in fact I have the manuscript ready.

I will only allude now to one or two facts that, more than others, seem to puzzle students. They are stumbling-blocks that, when properly explained, can be at once used to repair the broken road of history.

Please allow me, for the sake of brevity, to speak very hurriedly and, therefore, broadly, and subject to qualifications in detail.

The first great fact that you must absorb and assimilate, is that:

- (1) The invaders all called themselves Angles or English.
- (2) The Britons called all the invaders Saxons.

I should have no great difficulty in getting Chester folk to accept this fact, for you have only to bicycle into the hills of Flintshire and speak to some Welshman who does not know English, or pretends that he does not know it. What will he call you? Though your forefathers may have lived in Cheshire for centuries, he will certainly call you a Saxon. In Gaelic it is the same.

Now there can be no doubt at all that the Welsh and Gaels only do now what their former masters, the Romans, did before them. The nearest branch of the English race, to the boundary of the Roman Empire, were a branch that called itself Saxon; and so ever afterwards Romans, Welsh, and Gaels, recognized people of that race as Saxons.

This proves the racial identity of the two tribes, and enables us to understand how it was that the Saxons so willingly consented to call themselves Englishmen, since, by doing so, they were merely returning to the ancient stock.

The conventional term, Anglo-Saxon, is most confusing and deceptive.

There is no doubt that the later marauding expeditions by the Danes and the Vikings, about which we know a great deal, have helped to form the accepted version of the conquest of Britain by the Angles, but it is manifest that they differed in character altogether, at every point.

There is nothing to be found in the Danish invasions remotely resembling the ruthless advance of the Angles, settling as they conquered, and leaving all previous civilization in ruins.

I cannot say more as time fails; but I do ask everyone to realize that the bulk of the Angle, or "Anglo-Saxon" invaders, could hardly ever have seen the sea before they embarked for Britain.

I can only say, if you doubt this, compare the map of Britain with the map of Northern Europe, and find where the population could have existed that colonized

Britain, if indeed they lived on anything besides fish and whales-blubber.

Again, the colonists of Britain showed no desire to remain on the sea coast, except, indeed, the Jutes, who peopled the Isle of Wight and the coasts of Kent.

So far, I have dealt with the invasion solely from the point of view of the attack; but what about the brave defenders of Britain, the Welsh and Romans?

If my version of history is correct, there is no one to whom it ought to be so acceptable as to pure-bred Cymri, since I prove that instead of being ousted from the fairest inheritance on earth by a fortuitous concourse of patriarchally conducted family parties, their defeat and practical extermination was due to a long prepared-for and splendidly-organized invasion, led by a great general; and that, from the first start, the Welsh never had a chance, and were never given a chance as long as Ælla the first Bretwalda lived, of winning any victory that could, in any serious manner, hamper the invaders.

That the Welsh were at a disadvantage at first owing to their natural desire to be led by one of their own race untrained in serious warfare, seems to be quite probable; and it was too late, and probably after the loss of London, that they accepted the able command of Ambrosius Aurelianus.

I think that the terrible character of the invasion, obliterating as it did all traces of Roman and Welsh government, language, place-names, &c., is accounted for by the destruction of the Roman Empire in Britain being a religious duty and one of the tenets of

Wodenism. For we shall find later on that the English, after they had become Christians, treated the vanquished in a very much milder fashion, and spared the Welsh and preserved their place-names.

The Welsh of that period have been severely blamed by ecclesiastics, and the querulous *Gildas* is loud in denunciation of the crimes of their leaders.

In judging of the manhood of a race, I must be pardoned if I shew a preference for the estimate of soldiers.

That the Roman leaders thought highly of Britons as recruits for their armies is quite evident, since there were more aspirants for the imperial purple from the province of Britain than from any other province of the Roman Empire; and one of them, Constantine, was successful. Well, these men were all soldiers, and must have largely based their hopes of success upon the excellence of the recruits that they could collect in Britain. There is no reason at all to suppose that the Welsh were inferior to the Gauls.

From the way in which the Welsh fought after their powers of resistance had been hopelessly shattered, we may judge how they fought whilst there was still a hope of regaining possession of London.

And now, after these general remarks, intended to draw attention to the remarkable character of the conquest of Britain by the Angles, I will proceed to explain my theory of place-names formed by a study of each class of place-names *in situ*, and of its distribution on the map. It is only the place-names of pristine settlements with which I concern myself.

It is quite evident that settlements, formed during a time of warfare, must have had some relation to it. Such names are tun, burh, stead, ham, wick, and stoke; and their combinations, Hampton, Hampstead, Wickham, and Stockton; and when our matter-of-fact forefathers, with their meagre vocabulary, used one of these, they meant something quite definite and distinct from the others.

The most frequent and characteristic name, or rather place-name-suffix, of the Angle conquest, is tun, now ton. We must beware of anachronisms in endeavours to discover the original meanings of the above names.

We find, in an early version of the scriptures, "*ich bohte eine tune*," for, "I have bought a piece of ground"; and in the early charters we often find the word tun used in the sense of an agricultural enclosure; and Scotchmen, those purest Angles who still speak the purest English, still call their farmsteads tounes.

But I have only to ask you, "was a form of an enclosure that gave permanent place-names during a time of strenuous warfare, likely to have been one for keeping out cattle and pigs, or one for keeping out armed men?"

To be brief, the typical tun of the conquest seems to have been an enclosure surrounded by a moat. Although, in many cases, the moat may never have been made, as the necessity for one passed away too quickly.

But, after all, the exact form of the typical tun of the conquest, although an interesting question, is quite a secondary consideration. The point of primary im-

portance is that the conquest-tun always connoted the lowest unit of organization of the invaders. Every tun had its tun-gerefa and tunscepe (modern township).

A township is now a local division with definite boundaries and a fixed population; but just in the same way as the Hundred must originally have referred to the population, but is now generally used as a geographical expression, so it seems likely that the tunscepe, originally referred to the band of men told off to garrison a tun under a tungerefa. However this may be, there is no doubt that the essential feature of a tun was that it was an organized community, and the parish is nothing else but the township ecclesiastically regarded, as *Bishop Stubbs* tells us.

The tun seems to have been the post, and, at the same time, the reward of a gang of warriors. Their primary duty was to watch, defend, and warn. Their secondary duty, to cultivate the adjoining land. But, as the tide of war receded from each tun, the primary object ceased and was forgotten, and it became a mere agricultural community; the earliest form of folk-land.

The surviving characteristic of the steads is that they are always, or nearly always, on high ground. Hampstead is a typical stead; and witness the steads on the Surrey hills; and more particularly the only stead in this neighbourhood "Wickstead," near Whitchurch. Though the modern town of Berkhamstead is in a valley, the original Berkhamstead place is on the top of a high hill.

We can only suppose from their positions that the original steads were look-out stations without permanent garrisons.

The burh was the settlement of a chieftain, and he and his gesiths or followers formed its garrison. The burhs are less instructive than the tuns because they are fewer, and the term was so often used for fortresses of the enemy.

The hams were merely homes placed in safe situations into which were crowded non-militant colonists, artizans, &c.

The military evidence of the hams is purely negative, and, such as it is, it is difficult to disentangle it, since we cannot always tell to what stage of the invasion any particular ham belongs; and we often find the hams of a later stage in what must have been the exposed positions of an earlier stage.

The wicks were evidently villages of the Britons, occupied by the invaders, and were to all intents and purposes hams, and were sometimes called Wickhams.

The stokes are the most significant of all the conquest names. It may be said that the singular thing about the stokes is their singularity. They are seldom found within ten miles of one another.

At their inception each stoke was *the stoke* of its district; and only later on was given a distinguishing name such as Basing, Bishop's, or d'Abernon.

It is evident that stokes were stockaded permanent camps made with a view to a campaign for the capture of a fresh district; for more, in fact, than a mere marauding expedition. In them, stores must have been

collected; and they also served as a place to retire to in case the campaign should prove a failure.

It only remains to notice the Hamptons, Hampsteads, and Stocktons. I can only state briefly, and without giving reasons, that these may safely be accepted as a larger form tun or stead, that was used also as a ham, and a larger form of tun that was used also as a stoke.

As an instance, we find the important ham-tun, after which the Hampton-scire or Hampshire was named, and that later on was called Southampton to distinguish it from the Northampton; and stoke-tuns were often used in the north when the resistance to be expected from the Britons was slight.

The most remarkable feature about all the place-names we have alluded to is their distribution. This can only be touched on here.

Notice that in north London there are no hams, only tuns and burhs; in south London little else but hams; and around the hams of south London, a remarkable line of tuns, beginning on the west with the King's tun; and beyond these tuns, a line of steads on the Surrey Hills.

Then, East Berkshire and South Bucks have no tuns, with certain remarkable exceptions, that are all capable of explanation. Then, on the Welsh borders we find no hams, with the remarkable exception of Wrexham.

Then, there are the dykes to be noticed; mostly called Grim's Dykes or Ditches; and Woden's Dyke; and Offa's and Watt's Dykes.

Briefly stated, these mark the various stages of the invasion. They were earth-drawn treaties made by illiterate warriors very much in favour of the invaders, and to enable them to make rural settlements with a minimum of risk from retaliatory raids. As a preventive of cattle stealing they must have had a distinct value.

The lecturer now gave a sketch of the earlier stages of the invasion, from the landing of Hengist and Horsa in Thanet to the battles of Aylesford and Crayford, and the taking of London.

He also took several military positions in the Thames Valley, and showed how remarkably all the vestiges fitted in with the military requirements of each case.

All that the lecturer said, however, can be gathered from his book "The Storming of London and the Thames Valley Campaign, a Military Study of the Conquest of Britain by the Angles."

We have only space for the taking of Chester, with which the lecture was concluded.

I have hurried through the first stage of the conquest so as to leave time to show Chester folk how military principles explain the taking of Chester by Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria, about the year 613 A.D.

I have not made a very close study of this part of the invasion. I approached it originally with a view to ascertaining whether the principles of warfare and of place-naming, &c., that prevailed in the Thames

Valley a century earlier, held good in this later stage, and I have been pleased to find most unmistakably that they did, as I shall show when we come to details.

The capture and destruction of Chester by Æthel-frith was the consummation of the conquests by the *heathen* English. [Note that I lay stress on the word *heathen*]. It is the fact that Chester was the last conquest by heathens that makes the neighbourhood of Chester so interesting and instructive, as it is thus that we are here able to distinguish the great difference between the conquests by the heathen English, and their conquests after they had become Christians. That difference is marked by the fact that where the heathen English conquered, no Welsh place-names survive; and, therefore, we may, with confidence, assume that no Welsh were allowed to survive either. Whether a few individuals were retained as thralls or not, is a question which we cannot consider now, but we may be certain that no Welsh settlements were allowed to exist amongst the English, and there was no intercourse such as would have enabled place-names to be handed on. This idea is the only one that will account for the complete obliteration of place-names. So much would it have been the interest of the English to retain a proportion of the Welsh in subordinate positions, that I can only attribute their practical extermination to the fact that it must have been a tenet of Wodenism, probably handed down from its great founder, that when they went forth to conquer in the realms of Rome, no vestige of that hated empire should be allowed to exist and contaminate their homes.

However that may have been, we have this stern fact to account for, that, wherever the heathen English

conquered, no Welsh place-names survive, unless, indeed, it be those of natural features, such as rivers, &c.

The English, as we know, eventually conquered the Welsh right up to Offa's Dyke, and the intervening district is full of Welsh place-names, though the population, for the most part, claims to be English, and appears to be English, and speaks English.

There are signs of a large admixture of Welsh blood, and the Welsh language begins to be found as we approach the hills. Before the Normans came, there seems to have been very little bitterness of national feeling between Welsh and English; such border warfare as there was seems to have always been the old antagonism between the farmers of the plains and the robbers of the hills. It was the cruel rule of the Norman Lords Marcher that eventually exasperated the Welsh and aroused a national spirit of resistance.

I must now make what may seem to be a digression, since I am dealing with the conquest of Chester; but if the key to warfare is military science, the lock in this region is that unique district, the Hundred of Maelor. Why does this eastern salient of Cambria project some nine miles from the Dee into the richest pasture lands of England? When we have answered that question, we shall be in a position to understand the conquest of Chester and the part played by the Monks of Bangor.

If we examine the Hundred of Maelor, we find it full of Welsh place-names. To the east we find the Parish of Iscoyd; and in the eastern angle of it lies my home.

I may say of myself what *Professor Freeman* said of himself living in Somerset, in his "Teutonic Conquest in Gaul and Britain":

"A man whose own land is bounded by the boundary stream which parts the last land in the West won by the heathen English, the last conquest in those lands that wrought mere havoc, from the first conquest of the Christian English, the first conquest that carried with it mere political subjection, is not likely to forget the difference between the two."³

You thus see that my views, as to the importance of Chester as a centre for studying the conquest, is not based upon a novel idea, but upon the sterling observations of one of the greatest authorities upon that era of history.

Now let us apply the key of military science to the Maelor Saesneg lock; for Saesneg, or Saxon Maelor, the Welsh called it. We naturally begin by asking, what is the chief strategic feature of the east of Maelor? Is there one, such as could have enabled the forlorn remnants of the forces of the Britons to rally here for the permanent resistance of the conquering heathens? The answer is patent to the veriest tyro in strategy.

The chief strategic feature of Maelor Saesneg on its eastern boundary is a huge morass; a peat bog called the Fenns Moss; it is over four miles long and a mile wide.

From this morass, which is the watershed between the Severn and the Dee, runs a brook, called, at first, Red brook (from its peat-stained water), and afterwards, the river Elf, or, generally, nowadays, the Wych brook, down a deep valley difficult to cross. To the west of the Fenns Moss, that is to say, at the back of it, is

³ Four Oxford Lectures, 1887, p. 84.

the Mere country around Ellesmere. Thus, we have strategic features eminently favourable to the defence of Maelor. But strategic features are of little use without leaders capable of taking advantage of them. These leaders are to be found in the Monks of the great Welsh Monastery of Bangor, on the banks of the Dee.

It would take too long to explain the many proofs that exist, that the Monks of Bangor did indeed rally the Welsh to the defence of Maelor, and succeeded in resisting the conquering Angles at Iscoyd, until they became Christian; but, at any rate, for the purposes of this lecture, I think you may accept this version of local history, at least, as a working hypothesis, since it offers a complete explanation of that most advanced district of Wales, the Hundred of Maelor, and of the survival of Welsh place-names within it.

And now, I will give you a rational account of the taking of Chester, which is in harmony with military principles, and which explains, as it is explained by place-names, and explains the part played by the Monks of Bangor, which led to their destruction by Æthelfrith. I do not ask severe logicians to accept my story; but if they do not, then I hope they will accept it as a challenge to them to write a better. I will paraphrase a sentence of a former Canon of Chester, the great *Charles Kingsley* :

“If my story is not true, something better is; and if I am not quite right, still you will be, as long as you stick to hard work, and to the guidance of military principles in studying military operations.”

Our only source of information as to the way Chester was taken, is to be derived from place-names and the

requirements of military principles. The fact that Chester was taken by Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria, we learn from *Bede's* "Ecclesiastical History"; but the Venerable Bede only mentions the fact in order to explain how the Monks of Bangor came to be killed; and he seems to attribute the dire result to Divine vengeance. A soldier can but recognize and admire their heroic efforts to retain in the possession of their countrymen the gate of North Wales, by rallying the Welsh to the relief of Chester.

We must begin by realizing that Æthelfrith was the greatest military leader of his day; in fact, *Bede* tells us so. He must himself have recognized the importance of Chester, and that it was the centre of Welsh resistance, and that his own position in Northumbria would be strengthened by its capture, as well as by the renown he would gain. But let us turn to the locality. The invaders must, by this time, have reached the Cheshire hills, but have found that their efforts to encroach on the rich valley of the Dee, were constantly frustrated by sorties from Chester. Besides this, the estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey, with their valuable fisheries, were closed to them. Under such circumstances, we can easily realize how they would naturally appeal to the greatest warrior of the day; and how willingly he would respond. We can only suppose that a great leader, before taking action, would reconnoitre the theatre of war, and that, besides grasping the strategic features of it, he would learn that, as with Germanus of old, the resistance of the Welsh was inspired by the Monks of Bangor.

To be brief, Æthelfrith arranged that the appearance of his fleet in the Dee should be the signal for

the local army, with other contingents, to advance on Wirral and form a stoke, where we find it four miles north of Chester.

How dare you suppose that Æthelfrith had a fleet? I fancy I hear some doctrinaire say: Well, King Edwine must have had one here a few years later, since he conquered Anglesey and Man; so it would be a wild and improbable guess to suppose that Æthelfrith had no fleet; I prefer a more reasonable supposition.

The local untrained army ravaged Wirral, secured from attack by Welsh forces, by the presence of Æthelfrith's fleet in the river, and the army of veterans that he landed at, what is now, Flint. How can this be shown to be a reasonable conjecture?

Well, somewhere near Flint, there was once an Englefield, though the name has disappeared now. Perhaps it was at or near Llys Edwin. We know from *Florence of Worcester* that the Englefield near Reading meant "Campus Anglorum"; it would be unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Englefield near Flint meant anything else than the "Camp of the Angles."

Moreover, there is no other period in history when an English camp would have been likely to be called Englefield; and if the surmise is correct, then we find this Englefield playing exactly the same part with reference to Chester, as the Englefield near Reading did with reference to Silchester, namely, blocading the main avenues by which Chester could be relieved.

At this spot then, we have every reason to believe that the veteran army of Æthelfrith checkmated the

relief of Chester. But there was still one move to be made to complete the investment of Chester and render it impossible for a convoy to run the blockade from the mountains near Caergwrle. A local force, prepared to make permanent settlements, pushed across the Dee at a place ever since known as the Old Ford, or Aldford, and founded at once the Ea-tun (or water tun), and then the fortress, Doddleston, and many other tuns, such as Eccleston, Poulton, Balderton, Allington (on the River Alyn), Marlston, Bretton, Kinnerton, and Broughton. In this district the map shows no Welsh place-names, and so, even if local antiquaries can discover a few, such as field-names, &c., I claim this as a conquest by the heathen English.

At any rate, this district was so essentially English in the time of Edward I., that when he made the Welsh part of the County Palatine of Chester into the new Welsh shire of Flint, he retained the greater part of this district in Cheshire.

Now, if this was a heathen conquest, it can only have been made at this juncture, as the English were never again in force in this district before they became christian. And it is impossible to believe that the Welsh would have permitted these settlements to be made on their side the Dee, unless there was at the time of their foundation an English army to protect them.

I have thus shown, by the light of military principles, how place-names show that Chester was invested; and it is a strong confirmation of this theory of the taking of Chester, that it completely explains how it was that the Monks of Bangor became involved.

The Welsh must have quickly realized that, as they could not possibly expect to raise the siege by winning a pitched battle; their only hope was to engage the enemy whilst a strong convoy was being run into Chester, to enable it to hold out until the besiegers were obliged to retire for the winter.

If we look at the position of the Monastery of Bangor, we see that it is in the centre of the only district in which the Welsh could collect supplies.

How or where the battle took place we can never tell, unless, indeed, some Welsh Aceldama should still record the spot; but we may feel sure that the Monks died when nobly trying to relieve their countrymen in the beleaguered Chester.

I hope that I have succeeded in showing, though only in the short compass of a lecture, that military principles do co-ordinate and harmonize the evidence, and offer a rational explanation of the taking of Chester.





Chester Cathedral: The Mosaics

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A., F.S.A.,

ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(Read 17th March, 1909)

IT may not be generally known that the word "Mosaic" is practically the same as "Music," in that it signifies something to do with the Muses; inspired, so to speak, by the Muses, and so having what we call an artistic and æsthetic value. Our varied use of the word "Museum" might remind us that there were more Muses than one; and that their province was supposed to extend over all the fine Arts, whether they appeal to the ear or the eye.

The term Mosaic is applied to the mode of representing objects by the inlaying of small cubes of glass, stone, marble, shells, wood, &c. It was a species of work much in repute among the ancients, as may be gathered from the numerous remains of it. It is supposed to have originated in the East, and to have been brought from Phœnicia to Greece, and thence carried to Rome.

The term Mosaic-work is distinguished from Marquetry (or Parquetry) by being only applied properly to works of stone, metal, or glass. Marquetry was

used by the early Italian builders in cabinet-work; and John of Vienna, and others of his period, represented by its means figures and landscapes; but in the present day it is chiefly confined to floors, in which the divers pieces of wood are usually disposed in regular geometrical figures, and are rarely of more than three or four species.

We have in our Cathedral various specimens of Mosaic-work. First of all, there is the eastern wall of the Lady Chapel, decorated in this manner after the design of Sir Arthur Blomfield. Here are subjects represented appropriate to that portion of the building; and we have the Annunciation, the Salutation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt. The cubes used are of composition, and vitreous in character; and a good deal of gold has been introduced. The outlines of the figures are given in lines of a decidedly marked character; and some portion of the work seems to have suffered since it was executed, as the mortar or lime between the cubes shows rather too prominently in certain places, and detracts from the restfulness of the pictures.

Next there is the Reredos over the High Altar—one of the many gifts to the Cathedral of the late Mrs. Platt and her husband. Here we have a representation of the Last Supper, from the well-known picture. It is enclosed in an elaborate framework, and surmounted with a range of canopies. The material used is similar to that in the Lady Chapel, though more delicate and finished, and with greater refinement of colour. The cubes, too, are very much smaller; as would of course be necessary in the reproduction of a picture on a smaller scale. I think I am right in

saying that, whilst the design was by Clayton & Bell, the work was executed by Salviati, of Venice and London.

This certainly was the case with the Mosaics at the east end of the South Aisle of the Choir. Sir Gilbert Scott, as you know, reconstructed the Early English Apse here, having first pulled down the Perpendicular extension of it, like that which still remains in the North Choir Aisle. This work was done by Lord Brassey and his brothers, in memory of their father, the eminent contractor, who was a native of Cheshire. The Mosaics were placed there in loving remembrance of their mother. They represent three female characters from Holy Scripture: the Widow of Sarepta, with Elijah in the centre; and on the two sides, Phœbe receiving the Epistle to the Romans from S. Paul; and Priscilla with Aquila instructing Apollos. Woman's work as a sustainer, a messenger or minister, and as a teacher is thus represented. The decorative portion around these pictures gives us the Beatitudes, and allegorical figures indicating the graces of the Spirit, as enumerated in the Epistle to the Galatians. Here again the pieces used in the Mosaic-work are very small, and the greatest care and skill must have been required in putting them in their proper places, as well as in the selection of them.

It may not be out of place to remark here that this Chapel is called the Chapel of S. Erasmus. There are two Saints at least bearing that name; we cannot say certainly which is the one commemorated here. Probably, the one who is styled by Baring-Gould "a popular Saint," though there is no trustworthy authority about his history. He belonged to the early

part of the 4th century; fled to Lebanon in the Diocletian persecution; was arrested, and died a martyr, various modes of death being attributed to him. There may be some confusion in his history between two others of the same name, one in Syria, the other in Campana.

Though not strictly Mosaic-work, as we use the term, but being rather of the nature of a tessellated pavement, attention may here be called to the borders which frame in the three Intarsia pictures of the First Passover on the floor of the Sanctuary of the Choir. These little pieces of marble are fragments of a tessellated pavement from the Temple Area at Jerusalem; and were, I believe, given to Dean Howson by Sir Charles Wilson, who had to do with the Palestine Exploration Fund. They probably, therefore, are some of the oldest specimens of this kind of work, not only here but elsewhere, and come from a spot very near to the country where such work had its origin. There is, of course, also a further value in them, as in their present position they form an interesting connection between the Old Dispensation and the New; and, remembering the subjects they surround, between the First Passover and the Paschal Lamb, Christ our Passover Who is sacrificed for us.

It may be noted that the surface of the Mosaics we have been considering is perfectly smooth and flat. This is to be expected in representations which are close to the eye, and which are to be seen from only a short distance. But a different treatment is made use of when they are far removed from the spectator, and at a considerable distance from him. Thus, the Mosaics on the ceiling of S. Paul's Cathe-

dral have not a plain surface. The outlines or other features are made more prominent, and brought into bolder relief, by the pieces representing them being raised, and so standing out from the rest. This, of course, cannot be detected from below without the aid of powerful glasses.

In the year 1895, I had the privilege of ascending, with Dean Gregory, the ladders which led to the scaffold and platform where the work was then being done. It was very interesting to see the workmen breaking up the material into fragments suitable in size and shape for the picture they were constructing. They had in front of them Sir William Richmond's designs. With marvellous celerity and aptitude, they selected the material of the colour which was best fitted for the purpose; and you could see growing under your eyes the reproduction of the picture of the artist. I was also able to note from close quarters, how, by the designed unevenness of the surface, a more pronounced effect and character was given to the details of the figures represented. It was a happy if not unique experience; certainly one which under my present circumstances, I should have been unable to enjoy.

We now come to the Mosaics on the wall of the North Aisle of the Nave. These, I believe, exceed in importance of aim and extent of area any similar work of modern times. They occupy the entire length of the original Nave, embracing the whole of its four bays, presenting a wall-space seventy-two feet in total length, by nearly fifteen feet in height. While equalling in scale, they differ in mode of execution from the marble pictures in the Albert Memorial

Chapel at Windsor. The latter are, in fact, a work of Intarsia executed in marble, and, as in the case of old Intarsia executed in wood, dependent for the expression of its drawing and details upon the engraver. The work here is of true Mosaic, in which every expression of form and colour is wrought in countless tesserae.

The work, too, differs in effect totally from the Mosaic of Byzantine character, now known as Venetian (such as the other specimens in the Cathedral which we have been considering), being *marble* Mosaic, the colours being nature's own colours, manifold and various though they are. It is an application of what the late Sir Digby Wyatt termed "*Opus majus vermiculatum*"; but up to the present time it has not been thoroughly developed. He says: "Tesserae are but rarely found in walls, except when they are adopted to form flat tints of uniform colour." Here marble and limestone of different shades of colour enter into the composition of these Mosaics.

There are advantages in this kind of work. Glass Mosaic is most effective at a distance, but without such distance it fails to produce its effect. In Venetian Mosaic the colours, in limitless variety, including the effects of gold and silver, are produced by manufacture. In marble Mosaic the sources of colour are discovered in nature only. The range of tints, therefore, at the service of the artist is restricted to the limited varieties afforded by the quarries; no factitious material being employed in these pictures. A difficulty was found in the case of blue, so recourse was had to *Lapis Lazuli*, of which there are altogether about fifty superficial feet, or more than a twentieth part



The Mosaics in Chester Cathedral—"Abraham"

of the whole surface. These Mosaics, therefore, have been wrought under a severe denial of colour effect; and when this is borne in mind, the result is remarkable and surprising. The cartoons were designed by Mr. Clayton (of Messrs. Clayton & Bell), the subjects having been suggested by Dean Howson; and they were translated into Mosaics by Messrs. Burke & Co., of Newman Street, London, and of Paris; the workmen employed being Italians, who would be familiar with such handicraft.

It has been intimated already that mural decoration of this kind is unusual. You have it more frequently in pavements, and you have a specimen of this in the floor of the adjacent Baptistry. I will not draw your attention particularly to that today, because I hope that at some future time we may be able to examine more thoroughly that portion of the Cathedral, with the interesting Font it contains, and the curious history which attaches to that part of the building. Critics, too, have found fault with such mural decoration here, as being unsuited to a Gothic building. Theoretically, that criticism may be true; yet the custodians of Chester Cathedral are proud of the possession of these artistic treasures, which, in this country at any rate, are unique in their character.

Bearing in mind the conditions which have been alluded to already, the resultant effect is seen in the subdued arrangement of colour, and in the absence of gold, suggesting, without imitating, the appearance of tapestry. By such treatment the gravity and repose of the Cathedral wall are not disturbed, as would have been the case had a more pronounced system of colour been attempted. The wall-space is divided into four sections, each some eighteen feet in length, corre-

sponding with a like number of openings in the Nave Arcade. It was a special aim to give to the centre of these spaces a dominant feature, agreeing, as it would, with the central lines, respectively, of the Arcade openings. It was sought also to pronounce in this local point of each bay the historical motive to be illustrated in the Mosaics. These keynotes are, therefore, expressed in each bay by a large figure, standing statue-wise in a niche-like panel, divided by stone mouldings from the space on each side. These figures are about the size of life, and are respectively (beginning from the west) of Abraham, Moses, David, and Elijah.

The selection of these particular Old Testament Saints was made by Dean Howson; but I cannot say what was the one idea in his mind to be suggested by them. It may have been similar to that which inspired the window of Lord Egerton in the South Transept, where "the triumph of Faith" is brought before us, as recorded in the 11th Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the examples being taken from the Old Testament Saints. So here, these Old Testament Saints may remind us that, "having obtained a good report through faith, they received not the promise; God having provided some better thing for us, that they, without us, should not be made perfect." Or they may have been chosen to represent some particular virtue or characteristic in each case: Abraham, the friend of God, the father of the faithful; Moses, the man very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth; David, the man after God's own heart; and Elijah, the stern rebuker of sin. But this is a matter of conjecture; at any rate, we shall all allow that the examples convey lessons which we can all learn to our profit.



The Mosaics in Chester Cathedral—"Moses"

We are told that Dean Howson chose the particular incidents in the lives of the several Saints for the artist to illustrate, and that it was not left to the artist (Mr. Clayton) himself. I had thought that the latter was the case, and for this reason: When I came here 23 years ago, the Mosaics were unfinished; that is to say, the easternmost ones were not completed. The figure of Elijah in the centre was there, but not the scenes from his life. When Mr. Clayton was asked the reason for the delay, he replied, "I am waiting for an inspiration." He might have meant by that, "I am waiting till I am moved to choose my subject." At any rate, he felt that he could not do justice to the work if he wrought in a hurry. I think the general verdict will be that it was well worth waiting for the result.

Before examining the different pictures, I think a word may be said about the central figures. All of them are very striking and characteristic. They are not only life-size, but they are also life-like. They seem to bring the men before us, and we feel that we are in the presence of the personages themselves. Their individual character is set forth in the pose of the figure, the lineaments of the features, and in the dress or robes which they wear. And all this is produced, as we have seen, by the use of tesserae formed of natural stones—a fact which is simply marvellous. *Abraham* is majestic and dignified; in his hand he bears a scroll with the inscription, "God will provide," which may be said to have been the inspiration of his whole life. *Moses*, bearing the Tables of Stone, stands out as the unmistakable Law-giver. *David*, with his harp and the motto, "Praise the Lord, O my soul," is the sweet Psalmist of Israel, to whom we owe so much of our devotional poetry; and *Elijah*, stern and

rugged in form and appearance, with the raven at his feet, and the words on the scroll, "Hear me, O Lord, hear me," tells us of the bold rebuker of vice, and reminds us also of his providential sustenance in the time of famine, and of his courage in standing up alone for God against all the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel.

The scenes depicted in Abraham's life, are the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the Burial of Sarah. Both are very realistic, as evidenced by the knife falling from the hand of the astonished patriarch in the one, and his figure, bowed with grief, in the other. For the representation of two angels in the first picture, there is artistic justification in Raphael's treatment of the same subject in the stanza d'Elidore in the Vatican; whilst with reference to the wreath which Abraham holds in the other, we may say that such memorial tributes have been found in those ancient burying places, the Pyramids. "The trees in all the borders round about" are faithfully represented. The texts underneath the pictures are: "And Abraham said, my son, God will provide Himself a lamb for a burnt offering"; and, "And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah." In the space above each central figure is a corresponding canopy, and on either side of this, three niche-like panels, the central one being occupied by a historical personage connected with the Saint below; and the flanking ones by angels, bearing inscribed scrolls. Here we have *Melchizedek* and *Sarah*, the respective legends being, "Melchizedek, King of Salem, blessed Abram"; and, "Thou shalt call her name Sarah, and Sarah shall her name be."



The Mosaics in Chester Cathedral—"David"

Frank Simpson, Photo.

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The incidents portrayed in the life of Moses are, "The finding of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter," and the upholding of the hands of Moses by Aaron and Hur. The corresponding texts are, "And the daughter of Pharaoh said, this is one of the Hebrew children"; and, "And it came to pass that when Moses held up his hand that Israel prevailed." In the former picture you may specially note the babe with outstretched arms supplicating the sympathy of the stranger, and the anxious sister on the right, trembling as to what the issue might be; and in the latter, the evident weariness of Moses, and the priestly figure of Aaron. Above, you have *Jethro*, with the words, "Blessed be the Lord, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians"; and *Joshua*, with the inscription, "Joshua, the son of Nun, shall go in thither, encourage him."

Next, we have David before Saul with the head of Goliath; and underneath, "And David answered, I am the son of thy servant Jesse, the Bethlehemite"; and David's grief at the news of Absalom's death, with the text, "Would God I had died for Thee, O Absalom, my son, my son." In each of these, the figure of David is very striking; in the one he is the *stripling*, the *youth*, as he is called again and again in the story. In the other, though you see not his face, the sense of intense grief is conveyed by his bowed attitude and bent head, and the sympathy depicted on the countenances of the servants. Above, you have *Samuel*, with the inscription, "Behold, I have walked before you from my childhood to this day"; and *Solomon*, with the words, "Then sat Solomon upon the throne of David, his father."

In the last bay we have the Angel of the Lord appearing unto Elijah, as he lies asleep under the juniper tree, with the text, "The Angel of the Lord said unto Elijah, arise and eat, because the journey is too great for thee"; and Elijah denouncing Ahab in the vineyard of Naboth, with the words, "And Ahab said to Elijah, hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" Both these pictures are very forcible. Note the evident relaxing of the prophet's limbs as he reclines, overcome with sleep, and the faithful rendering of all the accessories, the cake baken on the coals, and the cruse of water at his head. And in the other, you can almost fancy that you hear the stern voice of Elijah, as with uplifted hands he cries, "Hast thou killed and also taken possession?" and the abashed monarch in abject tones replying, "Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" Above are represented the *Widow of Sarepta*, with the inscription, "Behold, I have commanded a widow woman at Sarepta to sustain thee"; and *Elisha*, with the words, "The sons of the prophets said, the spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha."

Though I have dwelt at considerable length on these Mosaics, I know that I have not exhausted the subject, and I hope I have not exhausted you. I can well imagine that as we sit in quiet and reverent contemplation of the pictures, fresh beauties and points of interest would strike us; and I trust that one effect of this paper may be to lead to that quiet study of them, which, as you will have gathered, cannot fail to be profitable in the highest sense of the word, as well as instructive from the artistic point of view. The work occupied three years in execution. The pictures were put together in London, and brought down here in sections,



Frank Simpson, Photo.

The Mosaics in Chester Cathedral—"Elijah"

and then fixed in their places. The spaces they were to occupy were carefully prepared and made smooth ; nails were driven in in various places, round which copper-wire was stretched, thus forming a hold on the lime or cement to which the mosaics were to be affixed. The sections were then carefully applied, and pressed upon the cement, pressure being continuously and evenly directed until the mortar had set. Some months after, when the exudations from the lime had created a film or excrescence, the surface was carefully cleaned and rubbed down with boiled oil, thus bringing out the colours more distinctly. That operation has been repeated, and will probably be repeated from time to time, so that the effect of the pictures may be enhanced and improved.

The cost of the work (which I believe was about £3,000) was munificently borne by the late Mrs. Robert Platt, of Stalybridge. She and her husband (who was an old King's School boy) contributed in all about £17,000 to the restoration of the Cathedral, among their gifts being the groining of the roof of this Aisle, and the consequent rebuilding of the adjacent Cloisters on that side. She was an invalid, and unable to come to Chester to see her beautiful gift, and I was only able to place in her hands the description of it which was published in the "Diocesan Gazette" of December 1886. Her brother, Mr. Higgins, of Thing Hill, Hereford, however, came and saw them, and was much struck with their beauty. The harmony of the whole effect was marred at that time by the glaring colours of the glass in the windows above. This was quite modern glass, and had been moved from the eastern window of the Lady Chapel, when the Perpendicular

tracery was replaced by the lancets of ancient form. Mr. Higgins asked if he might put in other glass, which would not detract from the tone of the design; and permission was gratefully given.

As a consequence, the present windows were executed by Messrs. Heaton, Butler, & Bayne, under the supervision of Sir Arthur W. Blomfield. In the two middle lights of each window are Angels with musical instruments, the whole forming a celestial choir of Angels. In the others are verses from the Benedicite, the background being filled with sacred plants in an ornamental manner. Thus we have in the inscriptions: "O all ye works of the Lord"; "O ye Angels of the Lord"; "O ye Stars of Heaven"; "O ye Servants of the Lord"; "O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, bless ye the Lord; praise Him and magnify Him for ever"; thus allowing of one clause for each of the windows, and the refrain or chorus in every one. The appearance of the Mosaics was much improved thereby; whilst fresh light was thrown on the beautiful groining above. In the wall above the north-east door into the Cloisters is the inscription: "To the glory of God and in loving memory of Margaret Platt of Stalybridge, the windows in this Aisle were given by her brother Henry Higgins, A.D. 1890."

A melancholy interest attaches to this. Mr. Higgins was journeying to London, after recovering from an attack of influenza, to see the windows in the artist's studio, when he was taken suddenly ill, and died in the train. He did not live to see the completion of the work upon which he had set his heart; just as his sister, Mrs. Platt, was not permitted to see these

beautiful Mosaics, which she had given to God's House.

On the wall, near the north-west door, is a Marble Memorial, bearing this inscription :

" This Tablet was here placed A.D. 1890, by the Dean and Chapter, in memory of Robert Platt, of Stalybridge, in this County, who died A.D. 1882 ; and of Margaret, his wife, who died A.D. 1888.

They offered willingly to the Lord, giving Him the glory due unto His Name, adorning His House with goodly stones and gifts."





Miscellanea

VISIT OF THE CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

THE Sixty-third Annual Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association was held at Chester from the 16th to the 20th August, 1909. A local Committee was formed of the Council of our Society to assist in making the necessary arrangements, and to act as guides in the City and neighbourhood. The Association will publish, in their next Volume, a full account of the excursions and proceedings, but we think it well to put on record a brief outline of the Meeting, which was pronounced by those who attended it most enjoyable and interesting.

After a business Meeting of the Committee, on the evening of August 16th, the following days were devoted to visiting the objects of interest in the county and neighbourhood, which the programme had outlined. Most, if not all, of these have, at different times, been described in our Journal; and included amongst them were Bunbury Church, Sandbach Crosses and Church, Moreton Old Hall, Farndon Church, and Shotwick Church. New ground (or, rather, very old ground) was gone over when the excavations of Roman remains at Holt were visited. These are very extensive, and are still being continued, and fresh discoveries are constantly being made; and it is hoped that some fuller account of the results may be communicated to our Society in a Paper on the subject. On one of the days, the party

were entertained at tea, at Saighton Towers, through the kindness of the Right Hon. George Wyndham, M.P., and Lady Grosvenor.

The Association devoted two half-days to the City, and though this did not by any means exhaust the objects of interest, it must have conveyed to the visitors a good idea of the general character of the Antiquarian and Ecclesiastical treasures which the City possesses. On the 17th, they inspected S. John's Church, under the guidance of Mr. C. H. Minshull, and then viewed the remains of the Roman Wall recently brought to light, which were explained by Professor Robert Newstead. Passing along the Walls from the Newgate to Abbey Street, they assembled in the Refectory, where the Archdeacon met them, and, after giving a brief history of the Abbey and its buildings, conducted them through the Cloisters into the Cathedral, and described its various features. On the 20th, they went down Watergate Street, and viewed the old houses there; and so on to the Walls, and walked along to the Castle, where they were permitted to see the old Vaulted Chapel in Cæsar's Tower, where James II. attended Mass, though it is now used for stores. Then a visit was paid to the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill, where the Rector (the Archdeacon of Chester) pointed out the various beauties of the edifice, specially directing attention to the Tudor roof of the Nave brought from Basingwerk Abbey, and to the fragments of ancient stained glass.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was held in the Town Hall on the evening of August 17th, when the retiring President (Professor Sayce) introduced his successor, Sir Henry Howorth, who delivered a learned Address on Prehistoric Man.

Through the kindness of the Sheriff (Mr. H. B. Dutton), an exhibition of the City Plate and other articles, including badges and documents of the City Guilds, had been arranged, and excited general interest. Time did not admit of an illustrated lecture, on the City Charters, by the Rev. Canon Morris, D.D.

On the evening of August 20th, Professor Newstead gave an illustrated description of some of the objects in the Grosvenor Museum; and on that occasion the local Committee were warmly thanked for their services in making and perfecting the arrangements for the Meeting.

In the various excursions, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. Frank Simpson, and others, rendered valuable service as guides.

E. B.

A PRELIMINARY NOTE ON
THE ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED IN CHESTER
DURING THE YEAR 1909

THE following notes, prepared at the request of the Council, are of the briefest description, and will serve, chiefly, to place on record the geographical position of those archæological finds which have been discovered during the past year.

HUNTER STREET
ON THE SITE OF THE NEW MASONIC HALL

Here, in midsummer, were discovered the foundations of an extensive building bounded on the south side by a long narrow passage, running due east and west; the thickness of the walls varied from two feet to eighteen inches; they appeared to have been rather carelessly built and were in an advanced state of decay. Several coins were found upon the site, including those of Domitian, Trajan, Nerva, Faustina II. (a new and hitherto unknown mint), Commodus, and Constantinus I. and II. Large quantities of roofing tiles (chiefly in fragments), both in terra-cotta and thin sandstone; several of the former (*tegulæ*) bearing the stamps of the LEG. XX. VV. Some beautiful pieces of flat coloured glass were also rescued; and there were, besides these, several objects in iron, fragments of pottery, &c. The writer has prepared plans of these finds, and a descriptive account of them is in course of preparation, and will appear in a forthcoming volume of the Society's Proceedings.

CITY WALLS

ON THE SITE OF THE NEW DEE STANDS

The so-called "Quay Wall" has been traced in a more or less broken line from the exposed section northwards, as far as the "Roodee Keeper's Lodge" near the Watergate. Some few objects belonging to the Roman period were unearthed; the chief and more interesting of these being a length of lead-piping, of a much smaller diameter than that which has hitherto been found in Chester. This relic was lying, apparently, *in situ*, in some massive blocks of masonry, which had evidently been prepared to receive the piping. The fragments of pottery from this site do not include any rare types. Mr. John Hewitt has prepared plans of these finds, and has promised to lay his account of them before the Society at an early date.

ALLEN'S BUILDINGS, BRIDGE STREET

Behind the somewhat extensive premises, known locally as Allen's Buildings (Bridge Street East), lies the Grosvenor Hotel Paddock. Here it was that the floor and also the foundations of two massive retaining walls, forming part of a large Roman building were discovered during the recent excavations made for the purpose of erecting the new Arcade. The remains in question are, undoubtedly, a continuation of those which were discovered in the year 1863, on the site that had been previously occupied by the noted hostelry known to the Cestrians of that date as the "Feathers Inn." A full description of the Roman buildings, found in 1863, is given by Dr. T. N. Brushfield,¹ and as this Author's Paper is accompanied by an excellent plan, prepared by the late Mr. T. M. Lockwood, the archæologist is left in little doubt as to the exact nature of the plan of the larger portion of this extensive structure.

The floor recently recovered measures twenty-eight feet by twenty-four feet, approximately, and is bounded on the north and south sides, respectively, by massive walls; that on the north side measuring three feet six inches thick, is composed of very solid masonry, coated on the interior with

¹ Journal, Chester Arch. Soc. Vol. III., Series I., p. 9.

thick layers of wall plaster, bearing evident signs of repair. The south wall is also covered with plaster, with traces of decoration, though, so far as one can gather, it is in monochrome. The primary coat of plaster on the north wall has been coated with a fine quartz-like material, similar, if not identical, with that which was found in Eastgate Street in the year 1898,² but bears no trace of mural decoration. It is evident that the floor was originally laid in mosaic, as there are large areas of this still preserved, more or less intact; but it has been repaired from time to time with terra-cotta tiles of various sizes, and to such an extent that it will be a difficult matter to restore the original design with any degree of accuracy. The tessellated portion is, undoubtedly, the earlier work, and the tiled patches of a much later date. The design of the former is done in black and white tesserae, arranged in white squares on a black ground along the border. Within this border are portions of three dolphins. On the western side of the room is a large square panel (possibly one of three), which is divided from the border of white squares by a broad band of black tesserae, which forms a kind of passage-way between the two decorated portions of the floor. The mosaic is laid down on a very solid foundation of concrete, but is not supported by hypocausts or other substructures. A heating flue runs diagonally beneath the concrete from south to north; and there are evident traces that the fire originated near the southern extremity, as the structure at this point presented some vitrified remains. Other objects found were few in number, and of no very great archæological interest; but a description of these, together with that of the other remains, will appear in the Paper which was read before the Society by Mr. John Hewitt, on the 16th of November, 1909. Mr. Hewitt has expressed the hope that he will be able to add some additional information regarding the ground-plan of the Roman building, as it is assumed that the floor in question extends further in an easterly direction.

Professor F. Haverfield has been consulted in regard to the origin and use of this extensive building, and his valued criticisms are given in an Appendix to this note.

² Journal, Chester Arch. Soc., N.S. Vol. VIII., p. 83.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Society owes a deep debt of gratitude to all those who have in anyway contributed to the preservation of the various archæological remains which have been recovered during the past year. The writer wishes also to extend to those of his fellow-citizens who have so willingly assisted him in his investigations, his grateful thanks. He fully realizes the value of such help, and that, without such mutual aid, relatively few discoveries would be made and very few relics would be preserved for future generations, or for those who take an interest in the history of our old City.

The present Mayor (Alderman David Hewitt) gave freely of his time, and showed the keenest interest in rescuing the relics from the site of the new Masonic Lodge in Hunter Street. The Contractor (Mr. A. McLennan) also afforded every assistance in his power to further the investigation; and much kind help was given by the Chief Constable (Mr. J. H. Laybourne).

Messrs. Parker Brothers, the Contractors for the new Dee Stands, also gave facilities for the study of the remains which were brought to light during the extensive alterations near the City Walls (West).

In connection with the excavation in the Grosvenor Pad-dock, the writer wishes also to place on record his appreciation of the kind assistance which he received from those in whose hands the responsibility of the excavations and the preservation of the relics were entrusted. The Hon. Cecil T. Parker, the Architect (Mr. W. Lockwood), his Assistant (Mr. John Hewitt), and the Contractors (Messrs. Mayers, Son, & Co.), have extended to the writer assistance of inestimable value.

ROBT. NEWSTEAD, M.Sc., A.L.S., &c.,

Hon. Curator.

NOVEMBER 1909.

ON THE ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED ON THE
SITE OF ALLEN'S BUILDINGS, BRIDGE STREET

THE following letter, communicated by Mr. F. J. Haverfield, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, was read by Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., on the occasion of Mr. John Hewitt's Lecture, on the 16th November, 1909 :

"Through the kindness of Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., and Mr. John Hewitt, I have had submitted to me plans and details of the recent discoveries in Bridge Street, adjacent to those made in 1863, and I have been asked to express my opinion about them. In doing so, I may refer to a note I contributed to the Society's Journal ten years ago (Vol. 6, pp. 281-2). I there said that the interpretation of all the architectural fragments and foundations of buildings belonging to Roman Chester, must start from the fact that Chester, so far as we know, was, in Roman times, a legionary fortress, and not a town, from first to last. We know what a Roman legionary fortress was like, and we know it even better than in 1899, since further excavations have revealed further examples. The internal arrangements of such a fortress did not include any of those civic buildings which existed in ancient cities equally with modern towns. The Market Square or Forum, the Municipal Buildings or Basilica, the places of worship or temples, were no features of Roman legionary fortresses. Instead, they had head-quarters' offices, called *Prætorium* or *Principia*—the latter is perhaps the correcter title of the two,—officers' quarters, men's quarters, hospitals, armouries, and the like. It is among such buildings that we must choose if we would explain the vestiges of Roman structures within the circuit of the Roman Walls of Chester. I discussed, in 1899, the foundations then detected in Northgate Street, which were so well preserved by the late Mr. Charles Brown—of whom I would say, in Ciceronian phrase, *honoris causa nomino*. These, I suggested, might belong to the *Principia*, and I added that I thought the finds of 1863 might be officers' quarters, or perhaps baths, or, indeed, baths attached to officers' quarters. The recent finds do not seem to me to require any serious alteration in this opinion. Their

interest lies rather in their details, and, in particular, in their mosaic pavements. We know that men of war love comfort just as much as, perhaps even more than, ordinary civilians. So we shall not be unwilling to believe that mosaics might occur in a fortress which had to lodge the officers commanding a brigade of five thousand infantry, stationed in the fortress itself, and outlying garrisons in addition. But, as a matter of fact, examples of mosaics in Roman legionary fortresses are not at all common. These lately found at Chester are, in this respect, particularly interesting. The specimens found in 1863 were, mainly, plain tessellation. Now, we have figured mosaics with a pattern or border of dolphins, themselves suggestive of a bath. The citizens of Chester, who are interested in their City's history, may well be proud of such a find, and I will add the hope that they will shew their pride by taking care of it."

"It will be observed that the view I have taken of the remains is entirely distinct from those taken, at the time of their discovery, by Dr. Brushfield and Sir William Tite. Both of these argued from the analogies of the buildings common in towns. As I have stated, all such attempts are doomed to failure. Mr. Watkin, indeed, tried to harmonise Dr. Brushfield's view with the necessities of the case, by suggesting that there might have been a time "when Chester ceased to be a purely legionary fortress, and became more like a walled town" ("Roman Cheshire," p. 145). I am afraid that the suggestion does not help. So far as we know, Chester was a fortress from first to last. Moreover, the very notion of a place which was partly a legionary fortress and partly a town, was strange to Roman life in any sense which would here matter. A town might grow up outside a Roman fortress, as a town grew up at York, on the west bank of the Ouse, opposite to the fortress of the Sixth Legion, and of this we have many examples. But it would then grow up entirely outside and entirely distinct. Or, again, a fortress might be dismantled, and a town might take its place—as very possibly happened at Lincoln, in Roman days. But an amalgamated civic town and military fortress is not within Roman practice. Even in our own days, when barracks are freely planted in the midst or on the edges of towns, the

mixture of civil and military is not complete. The Home Office and the War Office have distinct spheres of authority. In Roman times the distinction was complete.

"The only hypothesis on which a Roman temple or Basilica of the civil type¹ could be justified at Chester would be a theory that the place, at sometime or other, entirely ceased to be a fortress. This may have occurred; it, doubtless, did occur at the very end of the Roman occupation, when the legions were withdrawn from Britain. But their excellent character, and their patching, alike testify, first, that our remains were built in a much earlier period; and, secondly, that they were in use for a long time. They were not constructed in the last days of Roman Britain."

F. J. HAVERFIELD.

"WINSHIELDS,"

HEADINGTON HILL,

OXFORD, 15th Nov., 1909.

³ The Basilicas mentioned in one or two British inscriptions as occurring in Roman forts were drill halls, as phrases like *Basilica exercitatoria* sufficiently shew.





ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS 1908-9

COUNCIL MEETINGS

AT a Meeting of the Council, held on Friday, 19th June, 1908, Dr. J. C. Bridge in the Chair, the arrangements for the Annual Summer Excursion were discussed, and it was decided to arrange for a driving excursion to Waverton and Hargrave Churches, Huxley Hall, Tarporley Church, Oulton Park, and Utkinton Hall. A Sub-Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, was formed to make the necessary arrangements : Mr. G. W. Haswell, Mr. James Hall, Mr. C. H. Minshull, Mr. F. Simpson, and the Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Wednesday, 16th September, 1908, Mr. Henry Taylor in the Chair, the death was reported of Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, who had filled the position of Hon. Curator and Librarian to the Society for many years ; and, in later years, acted as Hon. Secretary ; and the General Secretary was requested to convey to Mrs. Hodgkinson the sympathy of the Council in her bereavement. One new member was elected, and various accounts, amounting to £62 12s. 3d., were passed for payment.

The Hon. Curator reported the discovery of a portion of the old Roman wall, and several Roman, prehistoric, and mediæval objects, found during the excavations on the site of the new Exchange of the National Telephone Company, St. John Street.

The amended scheme for the transfer of the Museum Buildings to the Chester Corporation was received from the Charity Commission, and as it embodied the amendments proposed by the Council of this Society on the 18th May, 1908, it was approved.

A grant of £5 was made to Mr. Stendall, the Curator's Assistant at the Museum, which, with a similar sum contributed by the Natural Science Society, it was decided to give Mr. Stendall by way of increase of salary, pending the transfer of the Museum to the City Corporation.

The loan of three blocks (Roman pig of lead and Roman lead pipe), for the purpose of illustrating a "History of the art of English leadwork," was granted upon the usual conditions to Mr. Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., of 14, Northwick Terrace, St. John's Wood Road, London, N.W.

Professor Robert Newstead consented to give his paper upon "The Roman Wall and Fosse at Chester," discovered during the recent excavations upon the site of the new Telephone Exchange in St. John Street, at the opening Meeting of the Session.

A letter was received from Earl Egerton of Tatton, offering to present to the Society, for publication in the Journal, several photographs of the Cheshire Gentry in 1715, with a short description of them, written by the Earl; which offer was gladly accepted.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 20th October, 1908, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, two members were elected, and one resignation received. A donation of £1 is. was received from the Rev. H. Grantham, and a vote of thanks was accorded him for his kind gift. A cheque for £15, one quarter's call, due to the Museum Management Committee, was passed for payment.

With regard to the proposed Exhibition of books, prints, &c., it was suggested that if the Cambrian Archæological Association intended visiting Chester next year, it would be well to defer the holding of the Exhibition until then; and the Secretary was requested to ascertain whether the Association did intend holding their Annual Meeting at Chester next year, and upon what date.

The Secretary read correspondence between the National Telephone Company and Professor Robert Newstead, with regard to the custody of the objects found in St. John Street, Chester, which it was suggested should be at the Grosvenor Museum.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on Friday, 6th November, 1908, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, a letter was submitted from the Sandbach Urban District Council with regard to the preservation of the Sandbach Crosses, requesting this Society to offer suggestions as to the best method of preserving them; and intimating that they would be glad of any financial assistance to enable such preservation to be carried out. A Sub-Committee, consisting of the Chairman, Mr. G. W. Haswell, and Mr. C. H. Minshull, was appointed to inspect the Crosses, and report upon them to the Council.

One new member was elected. The Chairman reported that the dedication of the stonework, lately erected to protect St. Plegmund's Well at Plemstall, would take place on Tuesday, the 10th November.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 17th November, 1908, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, two new members were elected. The Sub-Committee appointed to inspect the Crosses at Sandbach submitted a Report to the effect that they were in no immediate danger of either wanton damage or decay, nothing being required in the nature of repairs excepting a little pointing, which the Sandbach Urban District

Council propose to have done. The report concluded with expressions of confidence that the great interest and care which was evinced by the Sandbach Urban District Council with regard to these ancient relics formed a good guarantee for their preservation. A vote of thanks was accorded the Sub-Committee for their services.

Dr. J. C. Bridge was granted the loan of the Bass Recorder from the Society's collection, upon the usual conditions, for the purpose of illustrating a lecture.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 22nd December, 1908, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported the various presentations to the Society, amongst which was a collection of objects found during excavations upon the site of the new Telephone Exchange, which were presented to the Society by the National Telephone Company.

The Chairman reported the presentation to the Society, by Sir Delves L. Broughton, Bart., of "Records of an old Cheshire Family" (a history of the lords of the manors of Delves, near Uttoxeter, in the County of Stafford, and Doddington, in the County of Chester), written by himself; and a vote of thanks was accorded him for his kind gift.

The Sub-Committee appointed to revise the Rules of the Society submitted their proposals, embodying various alterations, which were adopted.

It was decided to forward a copy of the Report of the Sub-Committee upon the Sandbach Crosses to the Clerk to the Sandbach Urban District Council (Mr. A. E. Stringer).

It was arranged that the Rev. F. G. Slater (Vicar of Ince) should give his paper upon "Early Eighteenth Century Brasses in Ince Church," at the January Sessional Meeting.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 19th January, 1909, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, various accounts amounting to £10 os. 9d. were passed for payment. One new member was elected; and one resignation reported.

A request was received from the Liverpool Committee for Excavation and Research in Wales and the Marches for a statement of the amount expended out of the grant made by them towards the expenses incurred in the excavations upon the site of the new Exchange of the National Telephone Company, intimating that they would wish to publish in their Report, to be issued shortly, an account of the discoveries of antiquities made; and asking for the MSS. and drawings, prepared by Professor Robert Newstead, relating thereto. The Secretary was instructed to forward a copy of the newspaper report of the Lecture upon the subject, given by Prof. Newstead at the October Sessional Meeting, with the hope that it would serve their purpose.

A letter was read from Mr. T. H. May, F.S.A., suggesting that as Roman remains are likely to be discovered in the excavations upon the site of a new school, which is being erected at Stockton Heath by the Cheshire County Council, permission should be obtained from the County Authorities, and arrangements made for either himself or other representative of the Society to visit the excavations daily, and obtain any objects found there; such objects to be brought to Chester to be exhibited and described before the Society, and placed in its Museum. It was decided to apply to the County Architect for the necessary permission.

A request was received from Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for permission to photograph the pig of lead in the Society's collection, inscribed De Ceangi, which was granted.

A complete proof of Volume XV. of the Society's Journal was submitted and approved, and ordered to be printed and issued to the members; the price to non-members to be £1.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 16th February, 1909, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, four new members were elected; and various accounts amounting to £18 11s. were passed for payment.

With regard to the excavations at Stockton Heath, the Secretary reported that he had communicated with the County Architect, who, having made enquiries, found there was little excavation being carried on; and the buildings were practically completed. He had informed Mr. T. H. May of this.

A letter was received from Lord Crewe stating that he hoped to be able, before long, to present the Library of this Society with a copy of the "Academy of Armory," as promised.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 16th March, 1909, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, various accounts amounting to £63 17s. 7d. were passed for payment. The Hon. Curator (Professor Robert Newstead) undertook, with Mr. Alfred Newstead's assistance, to compile an Index of the Society's volumes, in the form of an "Author and Subject" Index.

A request was received from the Cambridge University Press for the loan of photographs of certain pigs of lead, and Roman and other objects, for the purpose of illustrating a book written by Mr. T. A. Coward, F.Z.S., of Bowdon, upon "Physical Geography," which was shortly being published; and the loan was granted upon the usual conditions.

Presentations to the Society of file-copies of the "Chester Record" newspaper for several years, by Mr. J. M. Smith, of Moss Bank, Parkgate Road, Chester; and of a Map of Cheshire, by Mr. James Williams, of Hough Green, Chester, were reported, and accepted with thanks.

An offer was received from Professor Myers, on behalf of the University of Liverpool, to pay a moiety of the cost of the blocks illustrating Professor Robert Newstead's Paper upon "The Roman Wall and Fosse at Chester," upon condition that they be allowed to reproduce the Paper in their Volumes; and it was decided to accept the offer.

It was also

Resolved :—"That Professor Robert Newstead's Paper upon 'The Roman Wall and Fosse at Chester' be published at once, as Part I. of Volume XVI. of the Society's Journal."

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Friday, 16th April, 1909, at 5 p.m., the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported the various presentations to the Society, including a neolithic axe presented by Mr. P. Allwood, of Saighton, Chester, to whom a vote of thanks was accorded. Accounts amounting to £54 8s. were passed for payment; and two members were elected.

The Secretary reported the receipt of a cheque for £250, being a fourth share of a bequest to the Museum under the Will of the late Mrs. Churton, of Watergate Flags, Chester, per Messrs. Sharpe & Davison.

A revised draft of the proposed Order of the Charity Commission for the transfer of the Museum Buildings to the Chester Corporation was submitted and approved.

The Rev. Canon R. Trevor Owen attended the Meeting (by request) and stated that the Cambrian Archæological Association intended holding their Annual Meeting at Chester in August next, and asked whether this Society would help them by drawing up an Itinerary. It was suggested that the members of the Council of this Society, with Professor Bosanquet and Professor Myers, should act as the local Committee, with power to add to their number.

The following gentlemen were elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee for the ensuing year:—The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. Frank Simpson, Mr. H. B. Dutton, and Mr. G. W. Haswell.

The Secretary submitted a draft Statement of Accounts for the past year, ending 31st March, 1909, which was approved, subject to audit; and the Annual General Meeting of the Society was arranged to be held on Tuesday, 25th May, at 5-15 p.m.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, 11th May, 1909, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator submitted his Report for presentation at the Annual Meeting of members, which was approved. Four resignations of membership were reported; and one member elected.

It was reported that the Sheriff (Mr. H. B. Dutton) had obtained the option of purchase of an unique copy of Randle Holme's "Academy of Armory" (with the Chester imprint of the author, 1688) at the price of £15; and that he offered it to the Society at this price. It was

Resolved:—"That authority be granted for the purchase for the Society's Library, of the copy of Randle Holme's 'Academy of Armory' for £15; and the Chairman was requested to convey the thanks of the Society to the Sheriff for securing the volume."

The Chairman read letters from the Rev. Canon Morris, with reference to the arrangements for the forthcoming visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association to Chester in August; and a Sub-Committee was appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen, to assist in making the arrangements:—The Chairman, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. J. T. Golder, Mr. James Hall, Mr. G.

W. Haswell, Mr. F. Simpson, The Sheriff of Chester (Mr. H. B. Dutton), and Mr. J. Sheriff Roberts, with Mr. Walter Conway as Hon. Secretary to the Committee.

It was unanimously

Resolved:—"That application be made to the Museum Management Committee for the use of the Lecture Theatre, in August, for the Meetings of the Cambrian Archæological Association."

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the members of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday, 25th May, 1909, at 5-15 p.m. :—

Present: The Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, The Sheriff of Chester (Mr. H. B. Dutton), Mrs. H. B. Dutton, Mr. W. E. Brown, Mrs. W. E. Brown, Mr. C. T. Cooper, Mr. H. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. G. W. Haswell, Professor Robert Newstead (Hon. Curator and Librarian), Mr. F. W. Longbottom, Mr. E. Pitchford, Mr. J. Sheriff Roberts, Mr. John Scott, Mr. W. W. Tasker, Mr. T. Edwards, Mr. F. Simpson, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. James Williams, and Mr. Walter Conway (General Secretary).

An apology for non-attendance was received from Mr. James Hall.

The Secretary read the Notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting of members, held on 29th May, 1908, were read, affirmed, and signed by the Chairman.

The Annual Report of the Council, the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, and the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report were taken as read; and it was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Henry Taylor, and

Resolved :—"That the Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report, and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, be received, approved, and adopted."

Resolved:—"That Mr. William Vernon, J.P., and Mr. James Williams be re-elected members of the Council."

It was proposed by Mr. F. Simpson, seconded by the Sheriff of Chester, and

Resolved:—"That Mr. Horace Davies be elected a member of the Council in place of Mr. W. E. B. Whittaker,"

Proposed by Mr. Henry Taylor, seconded by Mr. J. Scott, and

Resolved:—"That Mr. J. Sheriff Roberts be elected a member of the Council in place of Mr. F. H. Williams, resigned."

The Secretary reported that Mr. Charles Coppack, who had acted as Hon. Auditor to the Society for many years, could not see his way to continue his services, and, therefore, wished to retire. The Secretary was requested to convey the thanks of the Society to Mr. Coppack for his services in the past, and their regret at his retirement.

It was proposed by the Sheriff of Chester, seconded by Mr. James Williams, and

Resolved:—"That Mr. W. W. Tasker be elected Hon. Auditor to the Society for the ensuing year."

It was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by the Sheriff of Chester, supported by Professor Robert Newstead, and

Resolved:—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the donors of books and objects of antiquarian interest during the past year."

The following new members were elected, viz.: C. E. Kelsey, Esq., Hulme Grammar School, Alexander Park, Manchester; G. F. Adams, Esq., Victoria Road, Chester.

After the completion of the business of the Meeting, a most interesting addition to the Society's Library, which had just been purchased, was exhibited, viz.: an unique copy of Randle Holme's "Academy of Armory" (with the Chester imprint of the author, 1688), believed to be the first book printed in the City; and the Sheriff of Chester (Mr. H. B. Dutton), through whose efforts the book had been acquired, gave an interesting description of it.

A vote of thanks was accorded the Sheriff, both for his interesting description and for his successful efforts in obtaining the book for the Society's Library.

It was proposed by Mr. F. W. Longbottom, seconded by Mr. W. E. Brown, and

Resolved :—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the Chairman for presiding, and to the officers of the Society for their services during the past year."

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Council beg to submit to the Members their Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st March, 1909.

Six Meetings have been held during the Session, when the following Papers were read :—

20th October, 1908—Professor Robert Newstead, M.Sc., &c.

"The Roman Wall and Fosse at Chester"; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

17th November, 1908—Sir Horatio Lloyd.

"The Pentice and other Ancient Law Courts in Chester"; illustrated by several Drawings, &c.

22nd December, 1908—Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A.

“The Discovery of three Documents furnishing additional evidence relating to the Randle Holme family of Chester.”

22nd December, 1908—Professor Bridge, M.A., D.Mus., F.S.A.

“A Diary by Nehemiah Griffith, Esq., of Rhual, Mold, for the year 1715, together with some letters from John Rutherford, Esq., of Knowsouth, a Scots Prisoner of War at Liverpool, relative to the Jacobite rising of that year.”

19th January, 1909—Rev. F. G. Slater, M.A. (Vicar of Ince).

“Early Eighteenth Century Brasses in Ince Church.”

16th February, 1909—The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A.

“St. Plegmund and his connection with Cheshire.”

16th March, 1909—Major P. T. Godsal, Iscoyd, Flintshire.

“The Conquest of Britain by the Angles in the light of Military Science.”

It is with great regret that we record the death of our colleague Mr. Edward Hodkinson, who rendered such valuable service to the Society for many years in the capacity of Hon. Curator and Librarian, and later as Hon. Secretary.

The Annual Summer Excursion took place on the 17th July, 1908, which took the form of a drive to various places of interest in Cheshire. Conveyances left the Grosvenor Museum at 10 a.m., and passed through Waverton and Hargrave, visiting the Churches, and Huxley Old Hall, Tarporley. Lunch was taken at the Swan Hotel, Tarporley, in the room of the Tarporley Hunt Club, and an interesting account of this room, also of the Club and the many portraits of its Presidents which adorn the walls, was given by the Rector of Tarporley, the Rev. W. O. M. Hughes.

St. Helen's Church was then visited under the guidance of the Rector. Leaving Tarporley, the journey was continued to Oulton Park, which the party was permitted to visit by the kindness of Sir Philip Grey-Egerton. The house contains numerous pictures, curios, and various objects of interest, besides many architectural beauties in the interior, all of which were much admired. An enjoyable drive to Oulton Mere, part of Delamere Forest, and Eaton Village, stopping on the way to inspect Utkinton Old Hall (by kind permission of Mr. Hassall), brought the party to Tarvin, where tea was taken, after which four new Members of the Society were elected. After visiting the Church under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. J. F. Wilcockson, the return to Chester was made through Christleton, arriving at 8-15 p.m., and bringing a most successful Excursion to a close.

On Wednesday, the 17th March, the Members of the Society visited the Cathedral, when the Archdeacon of Chester described the Mosaics.

During the year an important discovery was made in the City, during excavating operations upon the site of the new Exchange of the National Telephone Company, near the Pepper Gate, the foundations of the Roman wall and fosse being disclosed. The Hon. Curator of the Society (Professor Robert Newstead) was enabled, by the courtesy of the National Telephone Company (who presented to the Society many of the small objects discovered), to make an examination of the premises, and subsequently gave an interesting Lecture upon the discovery, illustrated by Lantern Slides, a full account of which is in the press, and will shortly be published, forming Part I. of Volume XVI. of the Society's Journal.

The Society has received a portion of the generous sum bequeathed to the Museum under the Will of the late Mrs. Churton of Chester, which will be of much service to the finances of the Society.

Volume XV. of the Society's Journal has been published during the year.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, which is annexed, shews a deficit of £24 12s. 9d., which does not include the cost of printing and publishing Volume XV. of the Society's Journal. This, with the deficit brought forward from last year (£45 3s. 9d.), leaves £69 16s. 6d. to be carried forward. Although many new Members have been elected during the past year, providing an increased income from subscriptions, the Council appeal for continued efforts to obtain a larger membership, as the income is still insufficient to meet the annual expenditure, if the publication of the Journal is to be kept up to its present standard.

The following gentlemen have been elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee for the ensuing year:—The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A., F.S.A., Prof. J. C. Bridge, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., Mr. Frank Simpson, Mr. H. B. Dutton, Mr. G. W. Haswell.

Under Rule 4, the following Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election:—Mr. William Vernon, J.P., Mr. W. E. B. Whittaker, and Mr. James Williams. Nominations to be sent to the Secretary.

Members are reminded that they may obtain Family Lecture Tickets, price 2/6 each, entitling one member of a family to attend the Society's Lectures during the Session.

THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

In submitting his Report for the year ending March 1909, your Curator wishes to call the attention of the members of the Society to the valuable gift of the collection of Roman and other Antiquities, which were presented to the Society's Museum by the National Telephone Company.

This collection includes an unique Palæolithic Stone-axe (the first of its kind found in Cheshire), and, as such, forms a most valuable addition to the Museum collections. This implement of Prehistoric times has been fully described in the Society's Journal, Vol. XVI., Part I., and the specimen has been given a prominent place among the other relics of early man in Britain.

Two other noteworthy additions have also been made to the collections of Prehistoric times:—

- (1) A large stone celt, found in a field at Saighton, and presented by its discoverer, Mr. P. Allwood; and
- (2) A bronze celt, from alluvial deposits at Frodsham, by Mr. B. Huxley.

These interesting relics will, it is hoped, be described in a forthcoming volume of the Society's Journal.

As in a former year, Mr. F. W. Longbottom has again very kindly defrayed the cost of an expedition to the submerged forest beds on the Foreshore at Great Meols; but with the exception of a couple of Mediæval fish-hooks, little else was found worthy of note. It should be pointed out, however, that this site is well worthy of careful search, as there can be little doubt that many relics here await the discovery of the Archæologist.

The best thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. Reginald A. Smith, of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography, British Museum, for his kindness in examining the newly-found Palæolithic implement, and also to Professor E. Cossar Ewart, of the Zoological Department, the University, Edinburgh, for his valued help in verifying the various mammal remains found during the excavations in St. John Street.

The additions to the Library are fully catalogued in this Report; and the Society are indebted to the Curator of the Museum (Mr. Alfred Newstead) for having kept the card catalogue to date, and also for his assistance in the

mounting and preparing of the recent additions for exhibition in the Museum.

Much time was devoted to the excavations on the site of the new National Telephone Company's Offices in St. John Street during the spring and summer of 1908; and your Curator's full report on the remains therein discovered will appear in the next volume of the Society's Journal. But your Curator wishes here to express his grateful thanks to all those who so kindly assisted him in the work, both of rescuing and preserving the historic monument of the Roman occupation of Chester, and for those other relics which have found a home in the Society's Museum.

ADDITIONS TO THE MUSEUM

Stone Celt (Neolithic), found in a field at Saughton. *Donor*, Mr. P. Allwood.

Brouze Spear, found in the Frodsham section of the Ship Canal (June 13th, 1908); depth in alluvium above the boulder-clay about 20 feet. *Donor*, Mr. B. Huxley.

Tile from pavement, about 2 feet below the surface of Messrs. Brassey & Sons Shop. *Donor*, Mr. G. W. Haswell.

Old Lock and Keys, Chester. *Donor*, the late Mr. E. Hodgkinson.

Letter of Introduction to Randle Holme, found behind wainscoting in Randle Holme's house (now the Old King's Head), Lower Bridge Street, a few years ago. *Donor*, the late Mr. E. Hodgkinson.

Oak Water-pipe, taken from a line of piping discovered during excavations in Egerton Street, Chester, at a depth of about 5 feet, July 1908. *Donors*, The Hydraulic Engineering Company, Ltd.

Skull of *Bos longifrons*; Skull of Dog; Remains of Frog; Remains of *Helix aspersa*; Mortar taken from Roman Wall; various Bronze objects; 2 Bone Pins; 17 Fragments of Samian Ware; 8 Elizabethan Pipes.

Fragments of Roman Glass; Fragments of Quern.

Stone Axe (Palæolithic), St. John Street. *Donors*, The National Telephone Company. R. Newstead, *Collector* (August 11th, 1908).

Document (MSS.) by John Holme, 3rd March, 1709. *Donor*, Mr. Henry Taylor.

Condensed translation of a copy of a Writ of Scire Facias, 11th April, 1685, with the return, execution, and endorsements. *Donor*, Mr. Henry Taylor.

Receipt for cost of Painting Roome att Esqr. Kenricks, June 11th, 1717, Francis Bassano. *Donor*, Mr. Henry Taylor.

Document, William Skellorn, 4th January, 1709. *Donor*, Mr. Henry Taylor.

Model of Iron Furnace; the original found at Stockton Heath, May 1908. *Donors*, The Warrington Museum Committee.

Spindle Whorl (Roman), Love Street, Chester. By purchase.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- Address delivered at a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Ashton-under-Lyne, and Dukinfield, held in the Church Schoolroom, Ashton, Thursday, 10th November, 1836, Samuel Robinson. *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders.
- Algebra, Compendium of, John Ward (1724). *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders.
- *Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige, Vol. XVIII., No. 2 (1908).
- Antiquary (1908-9). By purchase.
- "Archæologia Cambrensis" 1908. Anglesea, Isle of, Ten days' tour through the, December 1802, J. Skinner.
- *"Archæologia Cambrensis," 6th Series, Vol. VIII., Parts 3, 4 (1908), Vol. IX., Parts 1, 2 (1909).
- *Bonner Jahrbücher, Heft 117 (1908).
- *Buckinghamshire. Records of, Vol. IX., No. 5 (1908).
- *Cambridge Antiquarian Society—
 Proceedings, Vol. XII., Nos. 1, 2 (1908).
 King's Hotel, Trinity College, Cambridge, W. D. Caröe, N.S., No. 2 (1909).
 Outside the Trumpington Gates before Peterhouse was founded, Rev. H. P. Stokes (1908).
 List of Members (1908).
 Catalogue of first Exhibition of Portraits in the Societies' Collection (1908).
 Proceedings, Nos. 50, 51 (1908).
 "Dual origin of the town of Cambridge," with two Maps, Arthur Gray, N.S., No. 1 (1908).
- Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society Journal, N.S., Vol. XV. (1908).
- Chester Record and General Adviser for Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and North Wales, 1857-63, 1865-66. *Donor*, Mr. J. M. Smith.
- *Chester Freeman Rolls, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, Vol. LV., Part 2, 1700-1805 (1908).
- *Chester Marriage Licenses, Vol. LVI., Part 2, 1616-24 (1908).
- Chester Diocesan Calendar, Clergy List, and Church Almanack, 1887-90-2-3-5, 1900-1-3-4-7. *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders.
- Cheshire and elsewhere, Chronicles of Lives and Religion in, George Slater. *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders (1891).
- Christ (?), Photograph of Oil Painting by Fra Angelico. *Donor*, Mr. Osborne Aldis.
- Congleton District of the Ancient Foresters' Burial Society, established 1840, enrolled 1844; Rules and Regulations to be observed by the Brethren of. *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders.
- Delves, History of the Lords of the Manors of, near Uttoxeter, in the County of Stafford, and Doddington, in the County of Chester, Sir Delves Broughton, Bart. (1908). *Donor*, the Author.
- Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures, Report of the Committee on Ancient. July 8th, 1908.
- Eisteddfod, Welsh National, Programme of Art Exhibition (1908).
- *Essex Archæological Society's Transactions, Vol. X., Part 4, N.S.; Vol. XI., Part 1, N.S. (1908).
- *Essex, Feet of Fines for, Part 9 (1908).

Ethnology, 22nd Annual Report of the Bureau of America, to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1900-1, Part 1 (1904). by exchange.

Fornvännen Meddelanden frau, K. Vitterhets historie och Antikvitets Akademien (1907).

Index Library, Parts 111, 112, 114 (1908). By purchase.

Index to Archæological Papers, compiled by Bernard Gomm (1907) By purchase.

*Ireland, Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of, Vol. XXXVIII., Parts 2, 3, 4 (1908); Vol. XXXIX., Part 1 (1909).

*Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, N.S., Vol. XXIII. (1907).

*Lancashire Inquests, Part 2 (1310-1333); Record Society, Part 54 (1907), Lecture delivered in the Moravian Chapel, Dukinfield, Nov. 5th, 1854 "Jacob deceiving Isaac" (1854). *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders.

*Liverpool University, Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, Vol. I., Nos. 1, 2, 4 (1908).

London, The Storming of, and the Thames Valley Campaign, Major P. T. Godsall (1908). *Donor*, The Author.

Menai Straits in North Wales, Historical and descriptive account of the Suspension Bridge constructed over the, from the designs by, and under the direction of Thomas Telford; William A. Provis, London (1828). *Donor*, Mr. J. M. Smith.

Probates, Year Book of, from 1630, edited by John Matthews and G. F. Matthews, Vol. II., Part 4, 1635-1639 (1904).

Red Hills Exploration Committee, Report of, Francis W. Reader.

*Scotland, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. XLII. (1908).

*Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society, 3rd Series, Vol. VIII., Part 2, 3 (1908); Vol. IX., Part 1 (1909).

*Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report (1908).

St. Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, Short Account, Rev. F. W. Powell (1907).

*Surrey Archæological Journal, Vol. XXI. (1908).

*Sussex Archæological Collections, Vol. LI. (1908).

*Thoresby Society Publication, Vol. XIV., Part 2 (1906).

* " Architectural description of Kirkstall Abbey, Vol. XVI. (1907).

Widows' Loyal Protection Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd-fellows, Manchester Unity, Congleton District, Rules of. *Donor*, Rev. F. Sanders.

*Yorkshire Archæological Journal, Part 77, 78 (1908).

Marked * are by exchange.

ROBT. NEWSTEAD, M.Sc., A.L.S., &c.

Hon. Curator and Librarian.

11th MAY, 1909.

THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st March 1909.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Subscriptions	137 0 6	By Grosvenor Museum Management Committee....	60 0 0
" Donations	1 1 0	" Printing, Postages, and Stationery	19 10 7
" Dividend on London & North-Western Railway Stock	11 5 8	" Advertising	1 17 6
" Sale of Journals	12 8 3	" Subscriptions to kindred Societies	3 15 0
" Sale of Family Lecture Tickets	7 6	" Purchase of Antiquarian objects	1 6 11
" Admission to Lectures	1 1 0	" Secretary's Salary	15 15 0
		" Miscellaneous expenses	14 15 10
		" Printing and Publishing Vol. XIV. of Journal	£88 19 0
Balance deficit for the year—carried down ..	24 12 9	Less Donations received towards cost	18 3 2
			70 15 10
	<u>£187 16 8</u>		<u>£187 16 8</u>
		By Balance—Deficit for the year brought down	24 12 9
		Add deficit brought forward from last Account ..	45 3 9
			<u>£69 16 6</u>

13th MAY, 1909—*Examined and found correct,*

C. COPPACK, C.A.

HON. AUDITOR.



LIST OF MEMBERS 1909-10

Adams, G. F., Victoria Road, Chester
Aldersey, Hugh, J.P., Aldersey Hall, Chester
Aldis, Osborne, M.A., 4, Victoria Pathway, Queen's Park, Chester
Allen, Bulkeley, J.P., West Lynn, Altrincham
"Antiquary," The Editor of, 62, Paternoster Row, London
Ayrton, Alfred, Chichester Street, Chester
Ayrton, Maxwell, 28, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.

Baker, Miss, 2, Grey Friars, Chester
Baker-Wilbraham, G. B., J.P., Rode Hall, Scholar Green, Cheshire
Ballard, E. G., Greenfield Cottage, Hoole Road, Chester
Barber, The Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., F.S.A., St. Bridget's Rectory, Chester
Barbour, George, D.L., J.P., Bolesworth Castle, near Chester
Barlow, W. H., 70, West Bank Road, Higher Tranmere, Birkenhead
Barnston, Harry, J.P., Crewe Hill, Farndon
Bate, Thomas, D.L., J.P., Kelsterton, Flint
Bates, T. A., 9, Brook Lane, Chester
Bell, C. F., J.P., Norley Hall, Cheshire
Bell, H., J.P., Greenfields, West Kirby
Bennett, J. H. E., 66, Cambrian Crescent, Chester
Benson, E. F., 102, Oakley Street, Chelsea
Best, Rev. J. D., M.A., Training College, Chester
Beswick, H., Newgate Street, Chester
Billington, F., Vicar's Cross, Chester
Birch, Miss, Upper Northgate Street, Chester
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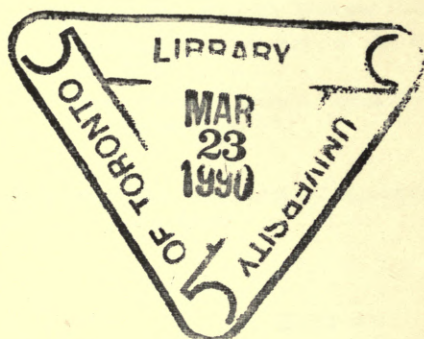
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